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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## FROM PATRIOTISM TO COMMUNISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 2-6

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, with the development of the socialist construction, on the land of the great motherland, among the 1 billion people, a tremendous patriotic current, which is filled with vitality, has been formed. Without such a powerful spiritual force, which pushes people to surge ahead, socialism cannot be built and the loftiest goal of communism cannot be realized. In building a socialist spiritual civilization, one important task is to comprehensively, profoundly and persistently carry out patriotic education among the masses throughout the whole country and to unite with all the patriots to fight for the cause of socialist modernization.

### I

Patriotism is a fine tradition and lofty quality of the Chinese people of all nationalities. In his "Chinese Revolution and the CPC," Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the following succinct sentence: "The Chinese nation is known throughout the world not only for its industriousness and stamina, but also for its ardent love of freedom and its rich revolutionary tradition." Our ancestors had stamina and were industrious. In our vast and richly endowed country, they gave full play to their abilities and intelligence and created a civilization that wins admiration of the world. Their ardent love of the motherland and freedom and the rich revolutionary tradition runs through the entire history of the Chinese nation and has become our national character.

Over the years, in laboring and in struggle life, they have deeply felt and realized a simple truth: The motherland has brought up its children with its land, mountains, forests, rivers, lakes, swamps and the old but ever-renewing ideologies and culture. Every Chinese has the duty to repay the immense kindness of his motherland with all his heart. He can absolutely not resent, blame, forget, abandon or betray his motherland. In order to judge the rights and wrongs, merits and demerits and historical position of an individual, a class, a political party, a doctrine, a theory and a trend of thought, it is necessary to base our judgment on whether they

promote or hamper the advancement of the motherland and the unity and well-being of the motherland's people. This criterion is of fundamental significance. The destiny of the motherland and the destiny of an individual are as inseparable as flesh and blood. One loses one's family if one's country is destroyed. If the motherland is not prosperous and developed, individuals cannot find outlets for their abilities. Every man has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country. Every son and daughter must strive for a bright future for their motherland. Under different historical circumstances, persons with lofty ideals, though their realms of thought and goals of struggle may differ, can see within the limits set by their times the relationship between the fate of the motherland and themselves. They see that they cannot find outlets for their abilities in dissociation from the fate of their motherland and that they should willingly give all they have for it. Whether in the past, present or future, to ardently love and devote himself to the motherland is the minimum moral quality which every upright Chinese must possess. Whoever does not possess or even despises such a moral quality or tries to openly infringe upon the interests of the motherland will be held in contempt and reviled by the people of the country.

Since the modern age, almost all the capitalist and imperialist states have aggressed against China and created tragedies on Chinese soil. However, all of them have been taught a lesson on the tremendous, unconquerable power of the Chinese people. During the Opium War, from the resistant clique of the landlord class, Lin Zexu, Yu Qian and Guan Tianpei emerged. Later, military leaders, including Feng Zicai, Liu Yongfu and Deng Shichang and intellectuals who advocated strengthening of China through reforms, such as Gong Zizhen, Wei Yuan and Yan Fu also emerged. Faced with capitalist and imperialist aggression and oppression by the landlord class, peasants in modern China had manifested an unyielding fighting spirit. In May 1841, in Sanyuanli, Guangzhou, "the young and the strong rushed to resist foreign aggression and the old and the weak transports provisions." They had opened up the first chapter of the peasants' resistance against the aggressors in modern China. The righteous army of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom had put up a desperate fight against the foreign rifle detachment organized and commanded by the aggressors. In the struggle against the cession of Taiwan to Japan by the treaty of Shimonoseki, people of Taiwan had displayed a moving patriotic spirit. "They were willing to lose Taiwan after they had put up a fight in which all of them were killed but not willing to lose Taiwan by doing nothing." Thus, they had killed half of the troops of the aggressors who invaded Taiwan. In 1900, the heroes of the Boxer Uprising wrote a glorious chapter on the peasants' anti-imperialist struggle before China's proletariat had come of age. The national crises since the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895 had awakened the bourgeoisie. At first, there was the hundred-days reform launched by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao of the reformist group. After the reform movement had failed, the "six gentlemen" including Tan Sitong and Lin Xu died a martyr's death. Later, there was the bourgeois revolutionary movement. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner, Lu Haodong, Shi Jianru, Zhou Rong, Chen Tianhua, Xu Xilin, Qiu Jin, Zhu Zhixin, Huang Xing, Cai E and the 72 martyrs at Huanghuagang formed a generation of revolutionaries.

In modern China, patriots possessed a patriotic spirit that startles the universe and moves the gods and ghosts to tears. General Guan Tianpei, Feng Zicai and Deng Shichang and others promised to die for the country, looked death calmly in the face and were "as fierce as birds of prey and the bravest people of the whole army" before the enemy. In order to make the country powerful through reforms, Tan Sitong was willing to die for the cause. He said: "In other countries, reform movements cannot be successful without bloodshed. In China, I have not even heard of anybody who dies for a reform movement. That is why the country cannot become powerful. If there should be somebody who dies for a reform movement, let me be the first one." Chen Tianhua and Wang Yirong drowned themselves in the sea or in a well to protest against the foreign aggressors. They had determination and would rather die in glory than live in dishonor. Qiu Jin, the female bourgeois revolutionary, wrote the following iron pledge: "I am ready to risk my life to turn the tide." In their last letters written before their death, Fang Shengdong and Lin Juemin, two of the 72 martyrs at Huanghuagang, expressed that, in order to seek permanent happiness for all people, they were willing to sacrifice themselves, regard death as honor and happily die. There are countless such heroic deed which boil people's blood and fire people with enthusiasm.

Since the modern age, in order to bring about national liberation and make the motherland both independent and powerful, patriots from different classes and social strata have conducted all kinds of explorations and made all kinds of tentative plans. However, their goal has not been realized. The bourgeoisie tried to seek truth from the West. However, the teacher always aggressed against his student. Since the peasants were tied to backward modes of production, they did not possess and could not find a new ideological weapon. Since the middle of the 19th century, in China, although the bourgeois reforms and revolution and the traditional and old-style revolutionary war of the peasants had in varying degrees hindered the process of colonization of China, however, they had not freed their nation from the yoke of imperialism. Despite this, the patriotic spirit left by them will become an everlasting monument in our hearts. The epitaph written by Comrade Mao Zedong on the monument to the heroes of the people, which is erected in Tiananmen Square, reads: "Eternal glory to the heroes of the people who from 1840 laid down their lives in the many struggles against domestic and foreign enemies and for national independence and the freedom and well-being of the people!" All those people who have made contributions to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese nation will forever be respected and remembered by future generations of the Chinese nation.

## II

History itself asks for and has produced a new leading class, a new leading ideology and a new combat style. This means the struggle with Marxism as its banner and in which the masses of people take part under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. As soon as Marxism-Leninism had spread to China and combined with China's labor movement, as soon as the CPC had ascended the political stage, the Chinese

revolution assumed a new aspect and great, earth-shaking changes took place in the motherland.

History has verified a truth: Socialism, and socialism alone, can save China. Under the leadership of our party, through the Northern Expedition of 1926-1927, the agrarian revolutionary war of 1927-1937, the war of resistance against Japan and China's war of liberation of 1945-1949, the motherland has won its independence and the Chinese nation has been liberated. A new China, in which the people are the masters of their own affairs, is on its feet in the east. After the liberation, we had consolidated the people's democratic regime, unified the country, including Taiwan and some islands, brought about a unity of all nationalities, defeated and frustrated imperialism or hegemonic aggression, sabotage and armed provocation many times, basically accomplished the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of means of production, eliminated the exploitation systems and the exploiting class and made great achievements in economic, political and cultural constructions and other aspects. Today, China is no longer a poor, backward country bullied by other countries. It is an independent new China which gradually becomes prosperous and powerful. Its dignity and integrity cannot be violated. All our citizens are proud of such a motherland. Overseas compatriots who live abroad are no longer looked down upon by others as they were in the past and they are proud of being Chinese. We have no reason to belittle any of our achievements. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "China's standing in the world was greatly heightened after the founding of the PRC. Only the founding of the PRC, a big country whose population is almost one-fourth of the total population of the world, can make China firmly stand on its feet. Comrade Mao Zedong was right in saying that: 'From now on, the Chinese people are on their feet.'" "Without the CPC, without carrying out the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, without establishing the socialist system, today our country will remain the old China without any change." ("Opinions Concerning the Drafting of 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC'")

The history of the past 60 years or more has proven that the CPC holds aloft the banner of patriotism and that its members are the most sincere, staunch and outstanding patriots. On the social stage in China, no political party has made the outstanding contributions to national liberation and enrichment, made the tremendous sacrifices, and won the brilliant achievements that the CPC has. Members of the Communist Party have written patriotic epics in the history of our country. The soil of the motherland and the patriotic tradition of the Chinese nation are soaked with their blood. When martyr Fang Zhimin was in jail, he wrote the "The Lovely China" which expresses how much and how ardently a Communist Party member loves his country. Under extremely difficult circumstances, General Yang Jingyu led the anti-Japanese amalgamated Army of the Northeast to wage a struggle against the Japanese. After he had sacrificed himself, it was discovered that his stomach was filled with grassroots, tree bark and cotton. Even the enemy was extremely surprised. For the sake of national liberation and for the sake of the well-being of the people of the whole country,

martyr Chen Jue had died. Before he died a hero's death, he wrote to his wife: "Everybody has parents, children and lovers. We sacrifice all we have in order to help and save the parents, wives and children of the people of the whole China." Before he was executed, Comrade Liu Bojian thought of letting his son continue the work left by him, "strive and shed blood for the liberation of the Chinese nation and continue to accomplish the glorious task which I have left unfinished." The patriotism embodied by our older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, Communist Party members and martyrs really shines through the ages. This is really the imperishable Chinese soul!

The reason why the Chinese communists are such patriots is that they are the vanguard fighters of the working class and all their actions originate from the progressive nature of the working class. They have found the most powerful ideological weapon of our times--Marxism. Communists regard striving for the interest of the broadest sector of the masses as their sole program and have no private interests apart from the interests of the masses. Communists profoundly understand that they cannot be communists without being patriots. The proletariat cannot liberate itself without liberating the whole of mankind. Communists emphasize and adhere to the common interests of the proletariat as a whole regardless of national difference. Our ultimate goal of struggle is to realize communism throughout the world. However, as pointed out by the "Communist Manifesto": "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 262) Thus, to the communists, internationalism and patriotism are identical. If the working class, Communist Party members, CYL members and communist members of a certain country do things well in their own country, they have made great contributions to world history and to the working class and people of the world. By doing this well, we mean two situations: One is, when a certain country is still ruled by the reactionary exploiting class, the necessity to lead and unite with people to overthrow the reactionary rulers, make the working class become the ruling class and make the people the masters of their own affairs. The other is, after destroying the exploiting class and the exploitation system and consolidating the socialist system, the necessity to lead and unite with the people to shift the focus of work onto the track of socialist construction and to strive to increase labor productivity and promote the levels of people's material and cultural lives. To be an unswerving patriot is the duty of every communist. Marx and Engels ardently loved their countries. Everybody knows that Lenin had made everlasting contributions to, and great efforts to realize, the cause of the liberation of the Russian people of different nationalities. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De and so on are both great communists and great national heroes.

Our party persistently holds aloft the banner of patriotism. Whether in the past, present or the future, it takes as its sacred duty the striving for the independence and unification of the motherland, the vindication of



national honor and national dignity and the promotion of the prosperity and power of the country. At the 12th CPC National Congress, in his opening speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "While we Chinese people value our friendship and cooperation with other countries and people, we value even more our hard-won independence and sovereign rights. No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit harmful to China's interests." "We Chinese people have our own national self-respect and pride. We deem it the highest honor to love our country and contribute our all to its socialist construction, and we deem it the deepest disgrace to impair the interests, dignity and honor of our socialist motherland." This is the common aspiration of our people voiced by the CPC members on behalf of them. In addition, this is also the fundamental reason why the CPC can win the support and the esteem of the people of all nationalities and become the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people.

### III

Any individual cannot become a communist without being a patriot; any political party of the working class violates the communist principles without holding aloft the banner of patriotism; from the viewpoint of the history of China's social development, we cannot even talk about the building of socialism and advancing toward a higher stage of communism without striving for and resolutely defending the independence and national dignity of the motherland. The road from patriotism to communism is one taken by the members of the CPC and the ideological process which the advanced people have undergone in the footsteps of the progress of the modern Chinese society. Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Dong Biwu, Lin Boqu, Wu Yuzhang and other comrades, before they became communists, had believed in the bourgeois idealism and its sociological and political theories. They had also in varying degrees taken part in the revolutionary movements under bourgeois leadership in the hope that the country could be saved in this way. From believing in the theory of evolution and pantheism, from pursuing the "elimination of political corruption" and "revitalization of commerce and industry," and from upholding Dr Sun Yat-sen's three people's principles, Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Zhou Taofen, Soong Ching-ling and He Xiangning eventually took the great communist road.

Today, we must still see that, although there are many people with varying degrees of patriotism, they are not necessarily communists. The motherland's achievements in socialist construction and the status it enjoys on the international stage have greatly inspired the people of all nationalities throughout the country and the descendants of the Chinese nation who live in different parts of the world and aroused their patriotic enthusiasm. Seeing that their motherland has become powerful, they are proud of being Chinese. Mr Li Zongren returned from abroad to see that the motherland was prosperous and powerful. He said with deep feeling: "This new atmosphere is not only unprecedented in the past century but also unprecedented throughout the whole of Chinese history." "Our motherland has boundless prospects." A KMT army officer returned from Taiwan to settle on the mainland and deeply felt that "the hope of the whole China

lies here." He thought that he had taken the correct road. We should believe that, no matter what their jobs, age, education and backgrounds, so long as they are truly patriotic, there will come a day when they recognize the role played by communists in China's social development and become friends of communism. We have even repeatedly seen instances of this: So long as they unswervingly advance along the path of loyalty to the motherland, after the twists and turns of history they will realize more and more from their personal experience the truth of communism and eventually become communists themselves. Hence, the road from patriotism to communism, which has been traversed by China's communists, is similarly the road that all patriots are now following and will continue to follow.

Although we uphold the guiding status of communist ideology, we have absolutely no reason at all to demand that everyone immediately become communist or to exclude and look down on patriots of all types who have not yet accepted communist ideology. As an historical path for saving the motherland, communism is the fruit of probing by the Chinese working class. However, people probed in the past, so now and in the future will people continue to probe, and there may be patriots of various types who carry out their probing in a direction not completely at one with communism. All these patriots, including people living under different social systems, including people in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, including Overseas Chinese compatriots living abroad and Chinese of foreign nationalities can make and indeed have made various contributions to the motherland's prosperity. We do not permit people to oppose communism and the socialist system. We must wage a principled struggle against the ideologies and actions which come from various sectors and are against communism and the socialist system. At the same time, we must be united with and respect all the patriots and bring about the prosperity and the unification of the motherland together with them. In this aspect, it is still necessary to continue to maintain sharp vigilance and liquidate the influences of the "leftist" ideas of the past. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that: "We must do everything possible to strengthen the broadest patriotic united front embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the unification of the motherland, including our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad." To widen and strengthen this united front is the duty of every communist and the concrete expression of our patriotism based on our communist stand. Of course, we hope that all the people become communists and patriots who are up to communist standards. However, we cannot and are not permitted to realize this hope by the crude and simple way of adopting administrative orders. A Communist Party member or a CYL member should use his own actual action to show that, as a communist, he is a thorough patriot who is truly capable of making outstanding contributions to the bright prospects of the motherland and the interests of the broadest sector of the masses. We should attract more and more people to take the communist road by playing an exemplary role.

Patriotism is by no means something abstract. It has different historical contents under different historical conditions. Our motherland took the socialist road long ago. Today, patriotism is not only love for the



motherland's grand scenery and ancient culture; it also means that one must warmly love the socialist motherland and the people building socialism. The specific contents of patriotism today can be summarized in our three major tasks in the 1980's as discussed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his "The Present Situation and Our Tasks." They are: In international affairs, to oppose hegemonism and preserve world peace; to accomplish the reunification of the motherland; and to promote the four modernizations drive. These should also be regarded as the hallmarks for determining whether a person takes a patriotic stand or not.

Every Chinese, whether living on the mainland, or in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao or elsewhere, is faced with this choice: Are you patriotic? Whether in the past, present or future, as far as people with the most rudimentary moral feelings are concerned, the answer can only be in the affirmative. The 1 billion Chinese people can tolerate their brothers who make this or that mistake and take this or that wrong course of thinking. However, whoever is willing to abandon his motherland and be a rebel against the Chinese nation is a person condemned by history and one who completely isolates himself from the 1 billion people. Patriotism is the ladder leading to communism and the torch which ignites the spirit of devotion of the Chinese people to giving full play to their wisdom and abilities for the sake of the prosperity and development of the motherland. We believe that, if we can solidly carry out the dissemination of and the education on patriotism, we will comprehensively mobilize the most of our people to forge the closest unity and with one heart and one mind accomplish the three major tasks for the 1980's put forward by our party, implement the magnificent program formulated by the 12th CPC National Congress, train communists by the thousand and enable our motherland to achieve greater and greater victories in the socialist modernizations.

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SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS--COMMEMORATING THE CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF MARX

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 7-13

[Article by Fan Ruoyu [5400 5387 1946]]

[Text] This year, 14 March, marked the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, the man who expounded socialism for the first time in a scientific way. At present, the people of all nationalities in our country, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are striving to create a new situation in socialist modernization and build China into a modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. On this occasion, the commemoration of the centenary of the death of Marx has a more profound significance and more abundant contents.

I

Scientific socialism, or scientific communism, and Marxist philosophy and political economy form an interrelated, inseparable and integrated system. With regard to its relation to philosophy, scientific socialism is a product of the law of development of human society discovered by Marxist historical materialism. Just as Engels said: "In comparison with materialism, modern materialism concludes with scientific socialism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 673) With regard to its relations with political economy, scientific socialism is a product of Marxist theory of surplus value. Engels said that although "Das Kapital" was not aimed at expounding socialism, everyone should admit that "socialism was, for the first time, expounded in a scientific way." (Ibid., Vol 16, p 412) For this reason, when the Marxist classics used the expression of scientific socialism in a general sense, it was a synonym of Marxism. However, being a component part of Marxism, scientific socialism has its specific and relatively independent tasks and objects of study which are different from those of philosophy and political economy. Engels pointed out: "Communism is a theory about the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 210) "Communism no longer means an idle dream about a society which is as perfect as possible, but means a further understanding of the characteristics and conditions of the struggles carried out by the proletariat and the general aims of these struggles." (Ibid., Vol 4, p 193) These are

brief expositions made by Engels on the tasks or objects of study for the theory of scientific socialism. They show that scientific socialism, which takes the theories of Marxist philosophy and political economy as its basis, has further pointed out for the proletariat the concrete conditions for and ways to the overthrow of capitalism and the realization of communism. It is a theoretical weapon directly guiding the emancipation movement of the proletariat and a science guiding the action of the proletariat in striving for liberation.

Socialist theory has been developed from a utopian scheme to a scientific one by Marxism. However, the development of the theory of scientific socialism has not ceased. On the contrary, Engels pointed out: "Since socialism became a science, it has required people to regard it as a science. In other words, it has required people to study it." (Ibid., Vol 2, p 301)

In light of conditions in developed capitalist countries, the theory of scientific socialism points out the general law of realizing socialism in these countries. In their struggles to realize socialism, the proletariat in various countries, especially those in the originally backward countries, must not only study this general law governing the realization of future society, but also explore the specific laws of realizing socialism in their specific countries in light of their own conditions.

Lenin said: "It is inevitable that all nations will arrive at socialism in the long run, but all will do so in not exactly the same way. Each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, pp 64-65) "The more backward the country which, owing to the zigzags of history, has proved to be the one to start the socialist revolution, the more difficult is it for it to pass from old capitalist relations to socialist relations." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 454) These expositions are of a greater and more direct and immediate significance to the proletariat in economically and culturally backward countries and their political parties in formulating line, policy and principles for the realization of socialism.

Due to historical restrictions, especially when there was still no practice of building socialism, the founders of the theory of scientific socialism did not, and could not, point out concrete ways and means of building socialism for their descendants. Lenin said: "Marx did not commit himself on the future leaders of the socialist revolution to matters of form, to ways and means of bringing about the revolution. He understood very well that a vast number of new problems would arise, that the whole situation would change in the course of the revolution, and that the situation would change radically and often in the course of the revolution." (Ibid., Vol 4, p 511) This has later been proved by the practice of socialist construction.

Under the leadership of Lenin, socialist ideals were turned into reality in Russia, which was backward in comparison with the developed Western capitalist countries. The first socialist country was established and Marxism, which includes scientific socialism, was developed.

Along with the development of the socialist practice in Soviet Russia, Lenin's understanding of socialist society was also constantly deepened. He put forward many creative concepts in the economic, political, ideological and cultural fields. What should be especially pointed out here is that in 1923, when Lenin was lying in his sickbed reviewing the path Soviet Russia had followed in the previous 5 years and looking forward to the future of socialism, he put forward an extremely important concept. He said that the reason why the plans of the utopian socialists were fantastic was "because they dreamed of peacefully remodeling contemporary society into socialism without taking into account such fundamental questions as the class struggle, the seizure of political power by the working class and the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class." But "things have changed now that political power is in the hands of the working class, that the political power of the exploiters is overthrown and all the means of production (except those which the workers' state voluntarily abandons on specified terms and for a certain time to the exploiters in the form of the concessions) are owned by the working class," and now that successes have been scored in the socialist revolution. He pointed out that owing to these changes, "we have to admit that there has been a radical modification in our whole outlook on socialism. The radical modification is this: Formerly we placed, and had to place, the main emphasis on the political struggle, on revolution, on gaining political power, and so forth. Now the emphasis is changing and shifting to peaceful, organizational, 'cultural' work." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 686-687)

Lenin thus made a clear and strict distinction between the period of striving for socialism and the period after establishing the socialist system: The main tasks for the first period were class struggle, political revolution and gaining political power, and the main task for the second period was carrying out "peaceful, organizational, 'cultural' work." Here, the culture in quotation marks is similar to the civilization we speak of today. It refers to both material civilization and spiritual civilization, and also includes the establishment of the democratic system. Lenin's conclusion is of great significance for us.

After Lenin died, Stalin led the Soviet people to conduct unprecedented socialist construction and thus created many useful experiences. He also made great contributions. However, he did not completely solve, or did not solve well, the problem of how to recognize and build socialism in an all-round way in a country which was originally backward in economy and culture.

Since the founding of the PRC, the Chinese working class and the masses of people, under the leadership of the CPC and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, have scored great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and have accumulated our own

successful experiences. However, on our road of advance, we have also suffered setbacks and have even made serious mistakes. Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has summed up experiences and lessons through bringing order out of chaos and has put forward the line, policies and principles for the new historical period. It has realized a great historical turn. The documents of the party's 12th national congress are scientific reflections and proof of this historical turn. In these documents, the theory of scientific socialism was enriched and developed with the new experiences we had gained in our socialist construction since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The documents of the 12th CPC National Congress show that our party has gained a more profound understanding of the law of China's socialist construction than ever before. In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must proceed from China's realities in our modernization drive. It is necessary to study and use the experiences of other countries in our revolution and construction. However, we will never succeed if we mechanically copy the experiences or models of other countries. We had some lessons in the past in this respect. The fundamental conclusion we have drawn from our experiences in our long history is to combine the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice in our country, follow our own path and build socialism with Chinese characteristics." This basic conclusion is the guiding ideology for us in completing the "greatest creative project in human history" put forward by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his speech at the 12th CPC National Congress. This "creative project" means "building China, which was originally backward in economy and culture, into a powerful, modern socialist country in the new historical period." "Many problems in this cause were not, and were unable to be, solved by previous Marxists." Therefore, when we study and make research of scientific socialism today, we must also study the problem of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

## II

When listing the main indicators of the great historic change our party has brought about, the report of the 12th CPC National Congress pointed out: "In the sphere of ideology, we have resolutely broken the fetters of dogmatism and the personality cult which existed for a long time, and have reaffirmed the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts, thus infusing a dynamic and creative spirit into all fields of endeavor. We have restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought and persisted in and developed it under new historical conditions." In 1869, in the preface to the second edition of his "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx wrote: "Outside the boundaries of France, very few people have noticed this violent change, this great spiritual revolution, which was against the traditional beliefs of the masses, still fewer people have understood it." The "great spiritual revolution" mentioned by Marx here is similar to the emancipation of mind we are speaking of today. Our party is understanding the emancipation of mind from the high plane of ideological line. This is

an ideological guarantee for us to constantly create new things and advance in various fields.

The 12th CPC National Congress reaffirmed an analysis made by the CPC Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee on China's classes and principal contradiction. With a scientific approach, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee negated the erroneous slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link" and resolutely shifted the focal point of the party's work to economic construction. Thus, a situation of stability, unity and prosperity which had not been seen for many years appeared in our country. Marxism holds that classes and class struggle belong to the category of history and are related with certain stages of the development of history. The exploiting classes emerged together along with the private ownership and exploitation system and will die out when the private ownership and exploitation system are eliminated. It is based on this basic principle of Marxism that the 12th CPC National Congress, after making concrete analysis in light of China's realities, further pointed out: After the elimination of the exploiting classes as such, most of the contradictions in Chinese society do not have the nature of class struggle, and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. However, owing to domestic circumstances and foreign influences, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time, and may even sharpen under certain conditions. This is an objective truth we have recognized after a painful process and at great costs. It has, in principle, correctly solved an important problem which still exists in our society after the socialist system was established.

The 12th CPC National Congress pointed out that it is necessary to rationally arrange and develop diverse economic forms on the premise of upholding the leading position of the state economy. This also shows that our party and our people have already gained a more profound understanding of the law of socialist construction in our country. The production responsibility system which is being carried out in the collective rural economy and the responsibility system in management which is adopted in the state economy are concrete forms to suit production relations to the development of productive forces at present and for a rather long time to come. The Marxist classics conceived in the past that the peasants would be led onto the socialist path through the cooperative system. Our party has already organized the broad masses of peasants in the socialist collective economy through the cooperative movement. However, in view of the low level and uneven development of the productive forces in our rural collective economy, we have also carried out an important reform of the management system while adhering to the public ownership of the basic means of production. Once the contracted responsibility system linking payment to output is widely adopted in accordance with the experiences created by the peasants, and a unified or separate management is conducted in light of concrete conditions, the superiority of the collective economy and the initiative of individual economy can be unified and the initiative of the laborers and their family members in production can be fully mobilized. At the same time, since responsibility, power and interests are

unified under the contracted responsibility system, and the achievements of the laborers and the remuneration they obtain are directly related to each other, the laborers have more concern with the material benefits and the socialist collective economy has a more solid foundation. Thus, egalitarianism has also been overcome. This is a great achievement of the Chinese peasants under the leadership of the CPC. The perfection and development of this system will certainly make the concrete steps of China's socialist cooperative movement in agriculture more in conformity with China's concrete conditions and make the Marxist theory of agricultural cooperation develop to a new stage through our practice. In our state economy, we have already begun trial implementation of various forms of responsibility systems, with the contracted responsibility system as the main form. Under these systems, the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are taken into overall consideration and the benefits of the staff and workers are linked to their labor achievements. Thus, the phenomena of egalitarianism, such as "everybody eating from the same big pot" and the "iron rice bowl," which have existed for a long time and have been harmful to giving play to the initiative of the enterprises and the laborers in management and production, have been changed, the workers' sense of responsibility as masters of their own houses has been strengthened and the development of production has been promoted.

The 12th CPC National Congress pointed out that it is necessary to correctly implement the principle of "ensuring planned economy to play the major role and market regulation the supplementary role" in organizing socialist economy. In socialist society, it is necessary to carry out planned economy. This is a principle which must always be adhered to and can never be changed. Engels said: "Once the means of production are owned by society, commodity production will be eliminated. At the same time, the domination of products over the producers will also be eliminated. The anarchy in social production will be replaced by planned and conscious organization." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 323) However, the practice in various socialist countries later has proved that after the establishment of the socialist system, the production of commodities is not eliminated at once, but instead, commodity production and exchange are greatly developed. Thus, socialist planned management is related to market and the role of regulation of the law of value is used. As has been proposed, on the basis of socialist public ownership, the principle of ensuring planned economy to play the major role and market regulation the supplementary role must be carried out, and in the form of planned management, both mandatory and guided planning must be related to free production within certain spheres. In mandatory or guided planning, it is necessary to conscientiously use the law of value and give play to the role of regulation of various economic levers, especially of prices. Only in this way can we integrate the necessary centralism and unity with diverse and flexible concrete forms and ensure the national economy develops in a coordinated and planned way. If we advance in this direction, we will be able to establish some concrete systems and forms in the planned management of the socialist national economy, which suit the characteristics of our country.



The report of the 12th CPC National Congress regarded socialist spiritual civilization as an important characteristic of socialism and expounded the significance, purpose, content and requirements of the building of socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of the theory of scientific socialism. Marx pointed out that cultural life was an important aspect of social life. He also made quite a few expositions on cultural life in socialist society. Lenin especially pointed out the tasks for socialist ideological and cultural construction. Both many times used the concept of "civilization," holding that it is a symbol of social progress. They exposed the class nature of the opposition against social civilization and predicted that a high degree of civilization would be created after eliminating the exploitation system and the exploiting classes. When they talked about civilization, they mainly referred to the progress of industry and science and technology, as well as culture and management. In accordance with their basic ideas and in light of China's practice, our party uses the concept of socialist spiritual civilization to summarize socialist cultural and ideological construction. It has scientifically expounded the dialectical relations between the building of material civilization and the building of socialist spiritual civilization which are conditioned by each other and which aim at promoting each other, and has emphasized political ideology and morality which are an important content of socialist spiritual civilization. It has insisted on educating every member of society in communist ideology so that all of them can become laborers with ideals, morality, cultural knowledge and a sense of discipline. It has taken the establishment of a new relationship between men, which reflects communist ideology and morality, as a fundamental undertaking in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. It has thus enriched the ideological content of Marxism in this respect.

The report of the 12th CPC National Congress pointed out that the building of both socialist material and spiritual civilizations must be ensured and supported by further developing socialist democracy. Undoubtedly, our past setbacks in the socialist construction chiefly resulted from not shifting the focal point of our work to economic construction for a long time, and also because we did not base ourselves on the firm foundation of a high degree of socialist democracy. Our experiences and lessons show that only when a highly democratic political system is established can we guarantee the smooth implementation of socialist economic construction.

Marx and Engels summed up the historical experiences of all the previous state problems, especially those of the Paris Commune, and founded the theories of the proletarian state and the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin enriched and developed these theories on the basis of the practice and experiences in the construction of the Soviet state. According to Marxism, the socialist countries, which take the public ownership of the means of production as their basis and undertake the historical mission of reforming the whole society through revolution and eliminating classes, can only adopt the form of democratic state to realize the real rule by the majority, which is unprecedented in history. All power of the state belongs to the people, and the people's position as the masters in the political life of the state should not be infringed upon. Being a system



of the state, socialist democracy includes the following two aspects: 1) Democracy practiced within the proletarian class and the broad masses of people; and 2) dictatorship exercised by the proletariat and the broad masses of people against the enemies of socialism. Being a political system, this democracy means the exercise of power in managing state affairs by the broad masses of people who are organized under the leadership of the proletariat and in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

After summing up the historical experiences in our country in accordance with the tenets of Marxism, the 12th CPC National Congress took the building of a high degree of socialist democracy as a fundamental task for building a powerful, modern socialist country. It also put forward a series of policies and principles. It closely related the establishment of socialist democracy with the establishment of the legal system so that socialist democracy can be guaranteed by systems and laws. It called for continuously reforming and perfecting the state's political and leadership systems in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism so that the people can more effectively exercise their rights in managing state affairs and that the state organs can more effectively lead and organize socialist construction. It expanded the practice of socialist democracy to various fields of political, economic, cultural and social life, and called for democratic management in various enterprises and institutional units and mass autonomy in grassroots social life. It clearly pointed out that it is necessary to establish a relationship of equality between men in accordance with the principle of socialist democracy and correctly handle the relations between individuals and society. It regarded the further development of socialist relations between all nationalities in our country, which are characterized by equality, unity and mutual help, as an important task in our construction of socialist democracy. The 12th CPC National Congress emphasized that all measures we adopt in the process of development of socialist democracy must be conducive to the strengthening of the socialist system and to the development of socialist production and other undertakings, and that no freedom will be given to hostile elements to endanger and sabotage socialist construction. All this has made the tasks of our socialist political construction clearer and more abundant, and has added substantial content to the concepts of democracy and state of scientific socialism.

The problem of making the party a strong core of leadership in the socialist modernization drive after the proletariat has seized political power and established the socialist system is also an important problem which has not been completely solved by the previous theory of scientific socialism. The 12th CPC National Congress put forward the important policy of enhancing the party's fighting strength and improving the party leadership and made an important revision of the party constitution. This is of great immediate significance and is also of important significance in theory.

Our historical experiences show that whether there is normal political life in the party, and above all, in the Central Committee and other leading bodies of the party at different levels, is a fundamental issue bearing on

the destiny of the party and the state. The new party constitution emphasizes that various party organizations from the central level to grassroots must strictly abide by the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership. And a series of measures were considered to reform the party's leadership system and to perfect the party's organizational system in order to ensure that our party is no longer bound to "personality cult." In 1890, in his letter to Friedrich Adolf Sorge, 2 days before his 70th birthday, Engels wrote: "I have already received some messages of congratulation on my 70th birthday (the day after tomorrow). Besides, Singer, Bebel and Liebknecht have said that they will come to see me. I hope that all this will be over soon, for I am not interested in this and feel that it is entirely unnecessary. Anyhow, I cannot tolerate it." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 498) From the works and correspondence of Marx, Engels and Lenin we can see that they all opposed "personality cult." The new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress clearly stipulates: "The party forbids all forms of personality cult. It is necessary to ensure that the activities of the party leaders be subject to supervision by the party and the people, while at the same time upholding the prestige of all leaders who represent the interests of the party and the people." This correct and thorough stipulation is very important to strengthening party building.

The 12th CPC National Congress also clearly pointed out that party leadership is mainly political and ideological leadership in matters of principle and policy. The party is not an organ of power which issues orders to the people, nor is it an administrative or production organization. Party leadership should not be equated with administrative work and the direction of production by government organizations and enterprises, and party organizations should not take everything into their own hands. Only in this way can the party ensure that the government organs and enterprises do their work independently and effectively, and can the party itself concentrate its efforts on the study and formulation of major policies, the inspection of their implementation and the strengthening of ideological and political work among cadres and the rank and file both inside and outside the party. While emphasizing the importance of amplifying the socialist legal system, the 12th CPC National Congress also clearly pointed out that the party must carry out its activities within the range of the constitution and laws and should not go against them. The congress affirmed the policy to ensure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. Many veteran cadres who are advanced in age will be relieved of their heavy responsibilities in frontline posts and, at the same time, will be enabled to continue their service to the party, the state and society by utilizing their rich experience in leadership work. On the other hand, the leading bodies at all levels can continuously absorb new lifeblood and talent to maintain their vigor. The 12th CPC National Congress also stressed that "the style of a political party in power determines its very survival." It decided to rectify party organizations step by step and in a planned way so as to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the style of the party. It clearly pointed out that except for the interests of the working class and the broad masses of people, the party does not have any private

or specific interests. Party members are always members of common laborers. Except for the power and position as well as personal benefits stipulated by policies and regulations, they have no right to seek private interests and privileges. These stipulations must not be regarded as temporary measures aiming at some current phenomena. They actually reflect that our party has become more mature and that we have made great progress in our understanding of the importance of strengthening party building in the socialist period.

The documents of the 12th CPC National Congress show that the recognition of our party of China's situation and the law governing socialist construction has reached a new height. Therefore, in order to better combine theory with practice in our study and research of scientific socialism, it is necessary for us to further study and publicize the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and resolutely implement the program, policies and principles of this congress.

Engels pointed out: "In my opinion, the 'socialist society' is by no means an immutable society, but is a society in which changes and reforms often take place, just like any other social systems." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 443) Following the teachings of Marxism, our party has already taken the theory that socialist society still needs to be reformed in various aspects as an important guiding ideology in leading the construction of the four modernizations. It has begun to judge whether a reform is correct by the criteria of whether it is conducive to the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, to the prosperity of the country and to bringing about happiness for the people. It has also determined that reform must be "proceeding from realities and carrying out an overall and systematic reform in a resolute and orderly way." Under the guidance of this general policy, certain aspects and links of production relations and the superstructure which do not suit the development of the productive forces and the economic basis will be readjusted so that production relations and the productive forces as well as the superstructure and the economic basis can develop in a more coordinated manner. Along with the victorious development of our reform and the deepening of our understanding of the law of China's socialist construction, the general guiding principles of scientific socialism have been more closely and accurately combined with the practice in our country. The socialist society built in this way is one with both Chinese characteristics and a scientific basis.

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On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Marx, the Chinese communists can use the documents of its 12th national congress to commemorate this great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. Capitalism emerged in old China's economy 2 to 3 centuries later than in the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe. The spread of Marxism in China was also some 50 years later than in developed Western capitalist countries. However, such phenomena as "the latecomers surpassing the oldtimers" have often occurred in the tortuous world history. Some 40 years after Marxism spread in China, under the leadership of the CPC, China entered the period

of socialism before the developed capitalist countries. When China was invaded by the Western bourgeois colonialists with opium and guns and when China was reduced from a feudal society to the status of a semifeudal and semicolonial society, the Chinese people still did not know anything about Marx and Marxism. However, at that time, both Marx and Engels already knew very well China's situation. In order to expose the aggressive crimes of the Western colonialists and voice the struggle of the Chinese people against the colonialists and the Qing Court, they wrote several tens of articles including one entitled "Events in China." If Marx and Engels were still alive today and had read the documents of our party's 12th national congress, and if they had learned that we are building socialism with Chinese characteristics, they would certainly be elated and would write today's "Events in China" with a warm feeling, entirely different from the past.

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## CHINA'S POTENTIALS IN DEVELOPING FORESTRY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 p 13

["Reference Material" column by the Bureau of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Conservancy under the State Planning Commission]

[Text] At present, China has 1.17 billion mu of uncultivated land and hills which are suitable for afforestation. If all of them are afforested and half of them become timber forests, we will have 3.6 billion cubic meters of timber 40 years after afforestation, or 6 cubic meters per mu. If we take 30 years as the lumbering period, then 120 million cubic meters of timber can be felled a year, more than twice present timber production under state planning.

There are about 1 billion mu of middle- and young-growth forests in China. If tending and management are strengthened in 10 percent of these forests each year, that is, some trees in the young-growth forests are felled to let in more light and some trees in the middle-growth forests are felled to make them thinner, then the per mu timber yield will be increased by 30 percent (0.1 cubic meter) a year, and the reserves of timber in the whole country will be increased by 10 million cubic meters.

There are about 400 million mu of middle-growth forests in our country. If thin-out felling is conducted in these forests, some 0.5 cubic meter of timber can usually be produced per mu. If the thin-out felling is finished in 20 years, then more than 10 million cubic meters of timber will be produced each year.

At present, our country has 234 million mu of sparse woods which have very low reserves of timber, an average of 2.4 cubic meters per mu. It is necessary to carry out improvements in the growth of these woods, to fell some old varieties of trees and to plant some new varieties. If this work can be completed in 20 years, then, some 14 million cubic meters of timber can be produced each year.

At present, since the capital construction work in forest areas still cannot satisfy our forestry development needs, some rich forest resources in remote areas have not been exploited and a large quantity of forest resources has become rotten. Now, there are 3 billion cubic meters of

timber reserves in the mature and overmature forests in our country; about 27 million cubic meters of these forests become rotten each year. If we speed up the exploitation of the mature and overmature forests in remote areas in a planned way, the potential in these areas can certainly be tapped.

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## BACKWARD ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT METHODS SHOULD BE REFORMED

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 14-15

[Article by Jing Ping [2529 1627]]

[Text] Inspired by the 12th party congress, people across the country are sparing no effort to create a new situation in carrying out the modernization program. However, backward administration and management methods are a bondage for the people and their thinking. The sense of responsibility of laborers as masters of their country and their wisdom have been suppressed while enterprises are not aggressive and vital enough. To display the advantages of the socialist economic system, it is imperative to reform the backward administration and management methods that are contradictory to our country's condition and to the needs of the development of productivity.

Over the past few years and under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the broad masses of peasants and rural cadres have taken the lead in boldly reforming agricultural administration and management methods. They have broken away from the old practice that cooperative economy of collective ownership can only undertake unified management, collective labor and recording work points through appraisal and introduced various forms of the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output and as a result, the rural economy is now prospering. Like a strong wind in spring, the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output is now blowing throughout rural areas in China and has also affected urban areas. Enlightened by the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output, industry and commerce have also introduced various forms of enterprise responsibility system. This responsibility system is characterized by contracted responsibilities as the center, combining the interests of the state, collective and individuals and linking staff welfare with labor achievements. Results of experiments in this system are also striking. Consequently, people cannot but ask why, now that such a responsibility system has been introduced to the socialist economy, it has shown such tremendous vitality, like a volcanic eruption, and achieved considerable economic efficiency? And why this system has been warmly welcomed by the masses and has been able to expand into various places and various economic sectors across the country? The rational answers are:

First, the reason for the lack of vitality in the national economy in China lies in backward administration and management methods and not in public ownership. Socialist public ownership of the means of production has helped to overcome the contradiction between socialized production and private ownership of the means of production and the contradiction between planned production by some enterprises and unplanned social production, and helped to eradicate the economic foundation for exploitation of man by man. With this ownership, people have become masters of their own country. This is an advanced economic system that is in a position to mobilize the production initiative and creativity of the laborers. The core of the question is that it is only when advanced public ownership is accompanied by advanced administration and management methods that people will really feel that they are masters of the socialist economy and that the advantages of the socialist system will be displayed. The original administration and management methods of the economy with public ownership in our country were formed under the influence of certain patterns of foreign countries in the 1950's. Practice over the past decades has proved that these methods have failed in many aspects and do not accord with the conditions of our country. The reason the responsibility system, with contracted responsibility as the center, is able to activate the socialist economy lies in the fact that this system has reformed backward administration and management methods on the basis of upholding the basic system of the socialist economy.

Second, there are many problems in administration and management methods, but the most important ones are excessively centralized management and the distribution of "everybody eating from the same big pot." With "everybody eating from the same big pot," it is only natural that some people do not get sufficient remuneration for the work they have done, while other people enjoy the fruit of other people's work. With "everybody eating from the same big pot," everybody gets a share and, therefore, it seems that it is in everyone's interest; but in reality, there is no definite awards or punishment and, consequently, people have no initiative and there is no way to improve production and economic efficiency. As a result, the state, collective and individuals have suffered. The success of the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output lies in the fact that this system has broken away from the system of "everybody eating from the same big pot" and is in a position to demonstrate still better the principle of distribution according to labor. That is why, with the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output, people have become diligent and are able to display their wisdom. As a result, a number of the people who are good at administration and management have come to the fore, economic efficiency has been achieved at a greater pace and social practice has been changed. In the 1950's, Comrade Chen Yun said reforms were taken to forbid capitalists from exploiting workers. Now, reforms are being taken in order to put an end to the system of "everybody eating from the same big pot." The significance of breaking away from "everybody eating from the same big pot" and the "iron rice bowl" and implementing the system of more labor more gain, less labor less gain and no labor no gain can be matched with the significance of reforming private industry and commerce. This has been proved in practice. The three great reforms in the 1950's resulted in changing the means of production by



private ownership to the means of production by public ownership. Today, the reforms are aimed at overcoming equalitarianism and consequently, we have found a proper form for carrying out distribution according to labor which is a basic question in socialist production relations.

Third, the great significance of the system of contracted responsibility is that it has not only directly solved the problem of distribution but has also promoted the reforms of enterprise administration and management as a whole and consequently promoted the reforms of management methods of higher level management departments. The core of the system of contracted responsibility is "contract." "Contract" is the "chain" through which the welfare of laborers is linked with the results of labor; it also combines responsibility with right and interest and links state planning with the autonomy of enterprises. "Contract" is also a "regulator" because through "contract," the interest of various aspects, the interest among the state, collective and individuals and the economic interest among enterprises and regulated. "Contract" is also a "catalyst." Under the condition in which the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output is implemented, the management systems of production, finance and technology and supply and sales must also be changed. The reform of enterprise administration and management will have microscopic and macroscopic linked reaction in various aspects to promote the reforms of the whole labor wage system, price management system, financial and monetary system and management planning system.

Fourth, the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output is highly adaptable. It constantly perfects and enriches itself in its development. Various forms of this system are adopted by different trades in different localities according to their different characteristics. Even the same form of the system is carried out flexibly, featuring unification, dispersion or a combination of both according to specific conditions. This system can be adopted by units of collective ownership, units of ownership by the whole people, agricultural, industrial, commercial, transportation and building construction, as well as enterprises that are making a profit or running a loss. As long as the contracted responsibility is rational, we will be able to achieve economic efficiency quickly in the interests of the state, collective and individuals.

In short, the fact that the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output has been generally welcomed proves that it is in line with the conditions of our country and the needs in the development of productivity and it is a creation with great significance by the Chinese people in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The implementation of the responsibility system based on contracts has effected a great breakthrough in the reforms of administration and management methods. This success means that we will be able to achieve still greater results in overall reforms. The national economy is an organic whole and its various parts are closely related. Compared with agriculture, we realize that the reforms of administration and management in industry and commerce are more complicated. Meanwhile, reforms are a kind

of pioneering work, which should be carried out carefully. Therefore, reforms should be promoted in a guided way and step by step. While carrying out reforms, various units should not pay attention only to their interests. They should consider whether their interests will affect the overall economic situation. Once they have made a correct judgment, they should be bold in carrying out their reforms. If they are not sure of success, they should not do the work in a rush. It has taken several years to carry out and popularize various responsibility systems in agricultural production. A continuously developing process in practice is also needed in order to promote the reforms of administration and management in industry and commerce. Reforms of systems should, first of all, be carried out on an experimental basis. Only through experiments can we popularize the reforms stage by stage and area by area. In no way should we do the work in a rush and demand "uniformity in everything." The progress of reforms might be slower because of experiment work; however, if we disregard experiments for the sake of speed, we will have to start all over again if the results of the reforms are undesirable. Comparing these two methods, we realize that we will suffer smaller losses if we employ the first method. We should firmly carry out our reforms in an orderly way and employ appropriate methods in light of local conditions. While carrying out the reforms, we should consider whether our work will be beneficial to the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics, to the prosperity and development of our country, and to the well-being and happiness of the people. All this should be taken as our criterion. In the process of carrying out reforms, we will no doubt meet with various difficulties and obstacles. As communists, we are dutybound to reform the world. For the sake of the modernization program and building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must be aware of the situation, improve our understanding, follow the trend in the development of history and spare no effort to become promoters in reforming administration and management methods.

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HOW IS THE SYSTEM OF CONTRACTED RESPONSIBILITIES WITH PAYMENT LINKED TO OUTPUT IMPLEMENTED IN THE RURAL AREAS OF YANTAI PREFECTURE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 16-19

["Finding Report" by Wang Jifu [3769 3444 1133], secretary of Yantai Prefectural CPC Committee, Shandong Province]

[Text]

I

Yantai Prefecture lies on the Jiaodong peninsula and is one of the prefectures in China with a relatively advanced rural economy. It is composed of 16 county towns, with more than 8 million people and 12.52 million mu of cultivated land. This area is near both sea and mountains, and hence has rich natural resources, with relatively advanced water and land transportation. Yantai Prefecture is a base for commodity grain, peanuts, aquatic products and fruits as well as an important region famous for its traditional handicrafts work such as drawn work, embroidery and grass-woven work. A scene of prosperity has emerged in the development of the rural economy across the prefecture since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

A new subject for us is now, through the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, to further mobilize the initiative of the broad masses of people and create a new situation in the construction of the rural areas. When the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output was first popularized across the country, some comrades regarded this system as an expedient measure for backward areas to overcome poverty and as inapplicable to advanced areas. But following the development of this system and particularly the vigorous development of the implementation of this system on a big scale, the originally backward areas have rapidly overcome backwardness while some relatively rich areas have made still greater progress. Many cadres at grass-roots levels and the broad masses of people wrote letters to leading comrades at prefectural and county levels and demanded the introduction of the system as early as possible. Yet some cadres were still doubtful. They worried that following the introduction of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, the output of grain and edible oil would drop, causing losses to the collective and affecting diversified economic management.

Under these conditions, we comrades from prefectural, county and city CPC committees repeatedly studied the related directives of the CPC Central Committee and carried out study and investigations in more than 200 people's communes across the region. These investigations proved that such shortcomings as excessive centralization of control, the practice of "doing things in a massive and unplanned way," and egalitarianism seriously existed in the rural economy in Yantai Prefecture and that it is a pressing desire and a natural orientation for further developing the rural economy in the region to introduce the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output, reform the original labor management and the method of distribution and combine unified management with household management and the advantages of the collective with the initiative of individuals. A number of typical examples have fully proved this point. The Xili village production brigade of Xiacun town in Rushan County is a unit that has introduced the responsibility system earlier and consequently it has rapidly developed production. In 1981, per mu grain output was 1,967 jin, with a total agricultural income of 890,000 yuan and per capita average distribution of 711 yuan. This production brigade was seriously hit by drought in 1982 and yet it was able to attain per mu grain output as high as more than 1,800 jin. Agricultural, industrial and sideline production net income was increased by 290,000 yuan. In that year, this production brigade was able to accumulate retention as much as 230,000 yuan, 110,000 yuan more than the previous year and per capita average distribution was as high as 1,030 yuan, 319 yuan more than the previous year. Xiguan production brigade of Mouping County has been able to increase its income every year and quadruple it in a matter of 3 years since it introduced the system of contracted responsibilities according to specialized teams. The new collective income of the whole production brigade in 1981 was 2.02 million yuan, with an average of 1,900 yuan and average per capita distribution was 1,000 yuan. In 1982, the net income of this production brigade increased by more than 500,000 yuan, with an average of more than 2,300 yuan.

Facts made people understand that the introduction of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is a major reform for developing the socialist agriculture with Chinese features. It is a valuable method not only for poor regions to overcome poverty but also a golden bridge for economically advanced regions to become rich.

## II

The forms of the production responsibility system to be taken by a prefecture and a unit depend on the level of their productivity, the structure of the economy, cadres' management level and the will of the broad masses of people. When we were selecting the forms for agricultural production responsibility system for Yantai Prefecture, we fully considered the following objective factors: First, the region has a relatively good collective economic foundation and a high level of productivity. In 1981, the power-driven machinery across the prefecture totaled 3.85 million horsepower, with an average of more than 3,000 horsepower of machinery for every 10,000 mu of cultivated land. Such production tasks as plowing,

sowing, threshing, transportation and the processing of agricultural and sideline products have been basically mechanized, fine seed strains have been used in growing agricultural crops while irrigated acreage made up more than 60 percent of the total cultivated area. Public accumulation of the production brigades and production teams across the prefecture totaled 3.38 billion yuan, with an average of 330,000 yuan per production brigade. Second, the region has a relatively advanced diversified economic management, coupled with a relatively high production specialization. The region has been gradually turned from single management of crops growing to comprehensive management of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fisheries and industry and commerce. Statistics at the end of 1981 showed that the items of diversified economic management across the region were more than 138,000 while the labor force that engaged in industrial and sideline production and diversified economic management made up more than 55 percent of the total rural labor force in the region, such labor force in some people's communes and production brigades was as high as 80 to 90 percent; the income of industrial and sideline production and diversified economic management made up 60.3 percent of the total agricultural income and the figure in some units was as high as 80 to 90 percent. In the sector of crop growing, the division of labor among specialized groups has been carried out in some aspects as nursing seedlings, crop protection and mechanical operation. Third, cadres at grassroots levels have acquired a certain management level. Following the rapid development of the industry run by people's communes and production teams, the region has trained a great number of grassroots cadres who have a certain amount of experience in specialized management. A number of production brigades have their own technicians and some even have their own engineers. Fourth, according to their practice over the past many years, the broad masses of commune members hoped to change the situation in which labor force was "excessively centralized" and distribution was carried out "equally"; on the other hand, they also hoped that following the introduction of the responsibility system, "machinery will continue to operate, specialization will be continued and income will not decrease."

According to the above-mentioned situations, we analyzed and compared the various forms of the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output and correctly analyzed the experiences of a dozen advanced examples. Consequently we hold that the forms of the production responsibility system to be taken by Yantai Prefecture should have the following features: The prefecture must take unified business management as the main and combine it with dispersed management and this management form should be defined for the purpose of further displaying the roles of collective accumulation, big machinery and water conservancy facilities; management tasks must be carried out according to contracted responsibilities assigned to specialized teams because this practice is required by the existing economic structure and a prerequisite for further progress toward a specialized, socialized and commodity economy. With regard to planning the forms of payment and distribution, it is necessary to absorb the advantages of the all-round contract system and carry out distribution on the basis of contracted responsibilities so as to make interests more direct and the method more simple; with regard to the form of labor, it is

imperative to take the method of dispersed independent labor as the main and wherever possible, responsibilities must be contracted to households and laborers. When it is impossible to contract responsibilities to households, the responsibilities must at least be contracted to teams. Thus, basing ourselves on these analyses, we actively advocate the system of contracted responsibilities for specialized teams with payment linked to output under unified management, and we term this responsibility system "unified management, specialization and contracted responsibilities."

By unified management we mean that it is necessary to persist in unified management as the main. This unified management mainly refers to unified coordination and unified policy by the collective in the process of production, and it includes unified use of certain important production factors and unified arrangement of certain production links. For example, most units in the region have persisted in implementing unified production planning, unified use of big farm machinery and water conservancy facilities, unified major production measures and unified balance of staff payment in various sectors.

Specialization means division of work according to specialization. This method is mainly based on such objective conditions as natural resources, labor resources, foundation of specialization and various talents in each unit. And it means "specialization first and then linking payment to output" and responsibilities generally contracted to specialized teams. In order to do a good job of dividing work according to specialization it is necessary first of all to contract land rationally. We have advocated throughout the prefecture to contract land to the labor force responsible for industrial and sideline production or just to contract fields for producing ration grain to members of households; we do not distribute land according to members of the households. This method is aimed at guaranteeing that all the labor forces in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fisheries, industry and commerce will be able to display their own advantages and develop rural economy in an overall way.

By contracted responsibilities we mean that distribution is carried out according to contracted responsibilities. That is to say, under the premise of unified management and division of work by specialized teams, we use the distribution method on the basis of the all-round contract system so as to closely combine responsibilities with rights and interests of laborers and effectively mobilize the production initiative of cadres and the masses. This distribution method on the basis of the contract system is different from the method of the all-round contract system introduced in some regions with relatively unitary economic structure. The responsibilities for the output of grain and edible oil are in general contracted according to "standard output" that is defined according to average annual output of per mu contracted land over the past 3 years and reliable potential for increasing output. The responsibilities for industrial and sideline production and the production of diversified economic management are in general contracted according to output value on the basis of actual "standard profit." At the same time, consideration is also given as how to balance the various trades. As price parity between

industrial and agricultural products and the price parity of the various agricultural and sideline products are not totally rational, the income of commune members that are responsible for various production is often affected by price. Therefore in defining collective retention, more retention is made for the contracted items with higher price and higher profit and less retention for the items with lower price and lower profit. The size of the units that have taken contracted responsibilities must be based on their own specific conditions. Most of the responsibilities for the production of grain and edible oil in the region are contracted to households or individuals. Some of the items of diversified economic management and industrial and sideline production that can be dispersed in contracting to households and individuals are directly contracted to them and the masses have termed this method "directly contracted responsibilities"; some other items that require stronger coordination are contracted to specialized factories (workshops), groups and teams and they contract the responsibilities further to lower units with payment linked to output or on the basis of piece work; the masses termed this method "contracted responsibilities by different levels."

### III

The responsibility system of "unified management, specialization and contracted responsibilities" includes the advantages of the many forms of responsibility system and therefore it has been welcomed by the broad masses of peasants. Up to the present, the number of production brigades that have introduced this responsibility system makes up more than 90 percent of the total production brigades. The introduction of this responsibility system in Yantai Prefecture has activated and promoted the rural economy but at the same time it has also caused new situations and new contradictions in our work in rural areas. Consequently, the prefectural party committee and party organizations at all levels are carrying out their work actively and stably and constantly studying and solving new problems.

First, manage and use well the collective assets that have been accumulated for many years and protect and develop the productivity that has already been formed in rural areas. One of the outstanding problems following the introduction of distribution according to contracted responsibilities is how to protect the existing fixed assets of the collective, display their roles still better and constantly develop them. In solving this problem, we have relied mainly on correctly handling the relations between unified and dispersed management and developed some specialized teams. Those that are suitable for unified management such as tractors, water conservancy facilities and some production equipment of diversified economic management are put under the unified management of, and used by, the collective. But as unified management is carried out with regard to those that are suitable for being dispersed among households or jointly managed by households, they are put under unified management. For example, it is encouraged to contract the responsibilities for the care and use of draft animals to individuals, or the protection of crops to households. We have also actively developed specialized organizations and a number of the counties and people's communes in the prefecture that have already set up various supply



and marketing, processing and technical specialized companies or associations that are serving production. Most production brigades have set up mechanical specialized service teams (groups) and irrigation specialized teams (groups). Some production brigades have set up specialized teams for supplying the means of production and agricultural technical service teams and these organizations have introduced the system of contracted responsibilities and the system of the distribution on the basis of contracting responsibilities. Some of the units with less machinery have contracted responsibilities to individuals and the machinery is used under the management of the collective. Such "unified" management meets the needs of the socialization of such agricultural production processes as plowing, harrowing, sowing and transportation as well as irrigation. At the same time, as this "unified" management is combined with "specialization" and "contracted responsibilities," it enables the collective to display its strength even better. In 1982, the utility rate of machinery during busy farming season across the region was 93 percent, more than 10 percent higher than the previous year while mechanized operation made up 60 percent of the total agricultural labor used in agricultural production, 18 percent higher than the previous year.

Second, persist in developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fisheries and industry and commerce in an overall way, further specialize and socialize production and improve the commodity rate of various agricultural and sideline products. We demand that cadres at all levels must overcome the thinking of only undertaking crop production and broaden their field of vision so as to concentrate their attention on all the natural resources such as hills, waters, fields and land under the premise of promoting grain production, so that the masses will be able to develop diversified economic management in a big way. The prefecture added more than 16,000 new items of diversified economic management in 1982 and the number of people engaged in diversified economic management and industrial and sideline production increased by 450,000 more than the previous year while the income from diversified economic management increased by 354 million yuan. We have also supported and developed various specialized households, key households and specialized laborers so as to provide more opportunity for various artisans to display their roles. Now there are a total of more than 420,000 specialized and key households across the region and they make up 20.4 percent of the total households. Massive emergence of the specialized and key households has expanded the scope of specialized production, division of work has become more meticulous and profit has been increased while the commodity rate has been also increasing. It has been proven by practice that the responsibility system of "unified management, specialization and contracted responsibilities" has broadened the road for specialized factories (workshops), specialized teams, specialized households and specialized laborers to develop in competition. This system will quicken the specialization and socialization of the production in the prefecture and improve the commodity rate.

Third, persist in implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to labor. Most people's communes and production teams in Yantai Prefecture have undertaken more business undertakings and there are great



differences in the net income created by labor in different trades. Such differences are caused not only by subjective factors of the laborers themselves but also by objective factors as natural conditions, production equipment, supply of raw materials and sales and prices of products. Therefore in defining the basic figure for contracted responsibilities, we paid attention to balancing labor payment in various trades so that with the same labor volume, the members of the same accounting unit that are responsible for farm production, industrial production and sideline production will basically have similar amount of labor payment. At present, there are three methods for balancing payment. The first method is to balance according to "standard work day value." The "standard work day value" is first calculated early in the year when the norms of contracted responsibilities are being defined. The method of calculation is: From the total income from contracts of a production brigade, deduct production expenses, tax and collective retention, and then divide this by the total estimated labor to be put in by the whole production brigade. The result is "standard work day value." "Standard work day value" multiplied by the work days decided by the various units that are undertaking contracted responsibilities is the payment due to these units. When the net income of the various units is higher than the due payment, part of the surplus will be handed over to a higher department by the end of the year and when the net income is lower than the due payment, subsidy will be given by the production brigade. The second method is to balance the payment by taking the due payment for agricultural labor as the basic figure. This method is termed by the masses "industrial and sideline production following agriculture." First of all, the total annual income from contracted responsibilities by the whole agricultural sector, after deducting production expenses and collective retention, is divided by the number of agricultural laborers. The result is the due labor payment for agricultural labor for the whole year, and this result represents a basic figure for the payment of various trades. The units that are using this method are in general characterized by not too much difference of labor productivity among various trades. The third method is to retain work points and carry out unified distribution at the end of the year. Yearly work points are defined according to the labor volume that is needed by various trades in fulfilling contracted responsibilities, with unified distribution at the end of the year according to work points. This method is used by most units as a transitional form when they are first carrying out the system of contracted responsibilities. Balance does not mean equality. No matter what balancing forms are introduced, the payment for those taking the contracted responsibilities for production items and types of work that are characterized by higher technology, labor intensity and greater contribution is in general higher. The surplus that is left after fulfilling contracted responsibilities belongs to those that have taken the responsibilities and there is no balancing.

Fourth, proceed from the needs of the situation in the rural areas and resolutely reform to rural economic system in an orderly manner. Following the introduction of the responsibility system of "unified management, specialization and contracted responsibilities," the following new situations have emerged in rural areas in Yantai Prefecture. First, the system

of the "three-level ownership by the people's commune, production brigade and production team with production team as basic accounting unit" that had been implemented for many years has in fact been broken through. Now what really has its role in the rural areas is the economy of the production brigade, and the function of production teams as basic accounting units has in fact been considerably weakened and has even been basically eradicated. Second, a big scale development of the various specialized production teams with families and groups as units urgently requires prior-production and post-production services and demands the formation of a specialized and socialized economic entity. These situations demand that it is imperative to reform the current system in rural areas. At present, many production brigades rely on the enterprises run by production teams and have formed a number of specialized service organizations to strengthen the links between production, supply and marketing of various trades. Some economically advanced units have turned production brigades into "agricultural, industrial and commercial companies" from the point of comprehensively managing agriculture, industry and commerce and they have set up the three manager departments of agricultural, industrial and commercial service to be responsible for coordinating the production of various specialized items and form a new economic system.

Although the responsibility system of "unified management, specialization and contracted responsibilities" was introduced in Yantai Prefecture not long ago, it has demonstrated strong power through practice and brought about profound changes in the political and economic situations in the rural areas and has become a powerful motive force in developing the rural economy. Of course, following its development in practice, the responsibility system of "unified management, specialization and contracted responsibilities" has to be constantly perfected in many aspects. For example, such problems as further standardization of contracted responsibilities, further improvement of scientific nature and rationalization of contracted responsibilities of diversified economic management and industrial and sideline production tasks have to be gradually resolved in practice.

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## WE MUST PAY ATTENTION TO ENERGY CONSERVATION

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[Article by Niu Yiping [3662 0001 5493]]

[Text] Energy shortages are one of the main factors restricting economic growth in China. Comrade Hu Yaobang has already correctly pointed out the principle for rectifying China's energy problems in his report to the 12th party congress: "We must increase energy exploitation and severely cut back on energy consumption." As far as exploitation of energy is concerned, the state is at the moment raising funds to enlarge the scale of energy construction and speed up energy exploitation in the 1980's while also setting up conditions so that there may be guarantees of a certain speed of increase in the 1990's. However, since energy exploitation is restricted by technological conditions, construction schedules and various factors such as transportation and communications, it will be difficult to see any large-scale increases in the near future. If we only rely on exploitation of energy it will be impossible to meet the demands of the growth of the national economy. According to the requirements of the Sixth 5-Year Plan industrial output is to increase by more than 4 percent annually, while energy resources are only to increase by 1.4 percent and thus more than half the energy required by industrial increases during the Sixth 5-Year Plan must rely on energy savings. The speed of increase in energy resources during the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the 10 years following will not even be half the speed of industrial increases during the same period and thus, there again, at least half of energy requirements will have to depend on energy savings. Thus, energy saving has already become a question of overall significance for the development of China's national economy.

Energy conservation is the most realistic and effective measure to solve shortages in China's energy supplies and it is also an important factor in quickly improving economic results. Energy consumption both directly and indirectly makes up a large proportion of production costs in industry. Only by cutting energy consumption and raising the overall energy utilization ratio can production costs be lowered, revenue increased and accumulation expanded. While conserving valuable energy we can at the same time invest in reproduction, thus increasing wealth for society. China's present irrational enterprise structure, product make-up and technological make-up

compounded by backward levels of production technology and unsatisfactory management produce startling wastages in energy usage. Wastage and ineffective spending in living costs are also rife. In 1981 the national revenue for every ton of standard coal consumed was only 576 yuan and this figure is not only much lower than the figures in industrially developed countries, it is also around 30-40 percent lower than the average figure in developing countries. In a domestic comparison the national revenue produced at present from China's investments in unit energy do not reach the highest levels attained in the past. There are enormous differences in energy consumption levels in different regions throughout the country. In 1981, Shanghai city consumed 27,400 tons of energy for every 100 million yuan of industrial output value. In Jiangsu this figure was 37,400 tons and in Tianjin it was 38,600 tons--about half the national average of 76,400 tons. But in some provinces the figure is as high as 180,000 tons or 200,000 tons, more than 2 and 3 times higher than the national average. The differences between enterprises and undertakings are even greater. So is it actually possible to cut energy consumption? The answer is of course, yes. In recent years, small nitrogenous fertilizer and metallurgical enterprises clearly illustrate this. In 1976 the average consumption of coal and other fuels per ammonia tonnage for small nitrogenous fertilizer enterprises in China was 4,181 kilos and in 1981 this figure had dropped to 2,144 kilos, showing a decrease of 49 percent. Consumption of electricity per ammonia tonnage also dropped from 2,239 watts to 1,416 watts, a decrease of 37 percent. As a result of this drop in unit consumption around 20 million tons of standard coal were saved in the period from 1976 to 1981 which is equal to the raw coal output of 2 or 3 large-scale mining areas of 10 million-ton output. In the metallurgy industry overall costs in steel tonnage dropped 28 percent between 1978 and 1981 and this serves to illustrate the enormous difference between tackling energy conservation and not tackling it.

Energy conservation is an all-embracing part of science and technology. To a very great extent, energy consumption levels and social economic results to be gained from unit energy investment together reflect the scientific and technological level of a country. Energy conservation cannot be founded on a technologically backward economy. New equipment, new technology, new materials and so on must replace backward and outdated equipment, technology and materials before the energy utilization ratio may rise and before the overall economic results of energy usage also rise. The technology and equipment being used today in China were to a very great extent produced during the 1950's and 1960's and utilization ratios are low, and consumption and wastage high. In China there are 28,000 different varieties of electrical machinery products and around 16,000 of them are poor in performance and need replacement or are simply obsolete, and this figure represents around 60 percent of all products in the electrical machinery industry. Throughout the entire domestic industry there are at present around 200,000 boilers and each year their coal consumption reaches 200 million tons--one-third of total domestic coal output. Of the "old tigers" among these boilers, with heat efficiency ratios of below 60 percent, there are 120,000 steam boilers which each year consume 30 million tons of coal more, representing 15 percent of total consumption figures. It is impossible to obtain maximum utilization ratios with this kind of

backward technology and thus in order to tackle energy conservation we must tackle technological transformations and improvements and this, in addition to making enormous savings very quickly, will also effect and stimulate technological advancement throughout society. Technological transformations and equipment renewal will cost a lot of money but once they become effective, investments will be returned very quickly. The Daqing oilfields use new high pressure water flooding pumps and since they are highly efficient, every pump makes annual saving of 2.14 million watts of electricity which equals monetary savings of 128,000 yuan. This annual financial saving can cover the cost of purchasing two more of these new pumps. In 1981 Yunnan Province spent 600,000 yuan on improving 11,000 "Liberation" brand cars and after this work fuel consumption fell by 12.6 percent so that every year savings of 6,000 tons of fuel were made, which were realized as returned revenue of around 4 million yuan, thus the direct results gained were 6 times the cost of improvements.

Energy conservation must begin with energy production and be carried right through to consumption. At every step from mining, transportation, processing to transformation and usage there must be reductions in damaging wastage and increases in efficiency. To conserve energy we cannot depend only on one or two sectors or launch ourselves into it from only one or two angles, we must depend on all regions, all sectors and all enterprises for their joint cooperation and at the same time we must increase the people's understanding of the urgency of energy conservation and the duty that they have toward it. In this way everyone may understand the strategic significance of conservation, the relationship between energy conservation and the attainment of our strategic goals and the relationship between energy conservation and improvements in the people's living standards. Based on the present situation in China as far as energy consumption is concerned, the main ways of conserving energy are:

1. Continued readjustment to the economic structure. Because China developed heavy industry in a very biased way for a long period of time, irrationalities occurred within the economic structure and thus massive wastage occurred in energy usage. In recent years steadfast implementation of the principles of readjustment has meant that a fundamental balance has been reached in the proportions between light and heavy industry and thus just within the 2 years from 1980 to 1981 around 41 million tons of standard coal were saved and the results of this are obvious. However, there are still some problems in the internal structure of both light and heavy industry. In the future we must continue to implement the principles for readjusting the national economy and, based on the greatest possible satisfaction of the constantly increasing demands of the people's livelihoods, we must ensure an overall balance, readjusting the structure of both heavy and light industry as well as their separate internal structures so that we may achieve even better economic results. Irrational make-up of enterprises is one of the main factors creating energy wastage. In very recent years energy shortages have meant that many large-scale enterprises have been operating under capacity while small-scale enterprises with high consumption and low efficiency have been blindly developing and expanding. Small iron and steel works, small oil refineries and small calcium carbide

factories characterized by low results and repetitive products should continue to be shut down or have their production aimed in another direction. In 1981 Shandong Province shut down its small oil refineries and small iron and steel works and thus made savings of 600,000 tons of standard coal. While readjusting enterprise structure it is important that attention be paid to readjusting product make-up. If we improve product make-up and use every means possible to organize well those products that are needed by society and suppress those products which are not needed or are not so vital, especially those which are high in consumption, then we will be able to make enormous savings on energy. If we improve product design and product quality as well as technological processes and always take energy conservation into consideration when thinking about product design, production line design and what raw materials should be used then the energy savings that we will make will provide even better results. For example, in the metallurgy industry if more waste steel is used, iron and steel proportions dropped, then for every drop of 0.1 there would be annual savings of 7 million tons of standard coal. In 1981 China's proportional production of iron and steel dropped to a ratio of 0.96:1 in comparison to 1.02:1 in 1980 and thus several million tons of standard coal were saved during that year.

2. Improved scientific management of energy resources. This is top priority if enterprises really want to conserve energy. Improved management does not cost very much money and results can be seen in a very short space of time. For example, if energy-saving equipment and technology is selected and used, if boiler and engines and so on function rationally, work shifts are organized well, production scientifically organized and if energy resources are used as rationally as possible in every department and every enterprise, based on maximum social results, then enormous savings can be made on energy. Improved management of energy resources means that calculation and estimation work must be improved, that each enterprise's position concerning consumption is made clear and that those involved in management have an accurate picture of what's what. On this kind of basis energy conservation can be carried out. Today, calculations in many enterprises are not accurate, statistics are incomplete and the situation concerning each enterprise's energy consumption is hazy. But, once calculation work is made more accurate and detailed and management is improved, then consumption will fall. The Shanghai Solvent Factory which consumed 60,000 tons of standard coal a year began to take note of calculation work and worked out its consumption every day based on 150 different statistics throughout the factory and on the same basis accounted its production costs. In the last 3 years total production value for the factory has risen by an annual 13 percent while the profit margin has increased by an annual 11 percent. Fuel consumption rates have dropped by 5.5 percent and thus overall unit solvent fuel consumption has dropped by 34.6 percent. In the last 4 years in Sichuan Province civil meters have been put to use, referred to as the "three meters" (electric meters, water meters and gas meters) and as a result the energy consumption rate has dropped by about half while the cost of installing the meters was recovered in a year and a half. Quota management of energy consumption must be improved and those enterprises which have no such quotas must set up scientific quota management. Those

which already have such quotas must aim for advanced standards. Only with advanced quota standards can there be any scientific assessment and surveillance of energy consumption. General investigation of enterprise energy resources is important work in putting an end to energy wastage. If enterprises do not carry out such general investigations it may be likened to not diagnosing the illness to be treated. For, if we do not get to grips with the reasons or illness causing energy consumption, then we have no way of finding the correct medicine. By carrying out a general investigation of enterprise energy resources we can establish with clarity exactly where energy resources are put to use in each enterprise and which cases are rational and which are irrational or ineffective. Already many regions and enterprises have begun this work and in some cases work has continued so that some enterprises have developed heat and energy balances, thus elevating scientific management of energy resources to a new level.

3. A good grasp of technological transformation and scientific and technological advancements centered around energy conservation. Good organization of scientific management of energy conservation is extremely important but we can only rely on scientific management to conserve energy to a limited degree whereas the extent to which technological transformations and scientific and technological improvements can help us in energy conservation is limitless. In order to put energy conservation onto a new higher level we must actively examine and adopt advanced production technology and machinery, based on the different characteristics of every enterprise involved. Only in this way will energy conservation broaden its domain and develop extensively. We must use long and medium-term projects, overall plans for technological transformation and effective measures to bring down the unit consumption of all products and cut energy costs by tens of thousands of yuan. The Anshan Iron and Steel Company plans to carry out 65 technological transformation projects during the Sixth 5-Year Plan and when work is complete unit steel energy consumption will drop from 1.014 tons to 0.96 tons, making annual savings of 380,000 tons of standard coal. We must also pay attention to equipment renewal and production improvements, using effective measures to get rid of backward equipment and production methods, replacing them with advanced machinery and methods. In the last few years we have already made some progress in this area. For example, the technology developed in the metallurgy industry such as the blast furnace coal powder spray and the over-fire hot blast furnace and the successfully developed new technology such as the steel ingot liquid center heating method and liquid center rolling production techniques from the Panzhihua Steel Mill are all great energy savers. The large amount of new energy-saving technology that is appearing in China today is the crystallization of the hard work of the multitudes of technicians and workers and such work should be expanded and developed where necessary. Like the example of the "Liberation" brand car, where improvements were only made on four major pieces of equipment, namely the cylinder head, the carburetor, the fuel induction pipe and the fuel distribution phase, total expenditure of 300 yuan, fuel consumption dropped by between 10 and 15 percent. This figure when translated into the life expectancy of the car of around 500,000 kilometers works out as a financial saving in fuel about equal to the value of the car itself. If such changes were carried out on "Liberation" brand



cars throughout the country, then we would make savings of about 400,000 tons of fuel per year. By publicizing the results of energy-saving technology, spending very little money and with very good results we could very quickly achieve new productive forces. We have already put into operation the advanced energy-saving machinery and technology that we have been importing from abroad over the last few years. We must concentrate more on digesting, improving and increasing. If we want to smoothly carry out and promote technological developments and transformations centered around energy conservation then we must steadfastly reform old systems and old methods that are blocking technological development.

In addition we must organize well the scientific research of energy conservation. We must concentrate our strength together to examine key scientific and technological topics which could be effective and should be made use of. As work in energy conservation becomes more thorough, so it will become more complex and if we do not have the experts in science and technology then such work will be hampered. Thus we must strengthen and increase the training of energy conservation management personnel and technicians and experts, organizing study classes according to region and enterprise so that the management skills and technological abilities of the broad mass of workers may be improved in stages. There must be firm administrative intervention in cases of serious energy wastage and if necessary economic or even legal sanctions should be imposed. At the same time we should also aim to solve the problem of underpriced energy and, by using various economic measures such as price, taxation and bank interests aim to achieve and realize energy conservation targets.

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ANOTHER TALK ABOUT THE STRATEGY IN SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF FOOD IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 23-24

[Article by Fan Lianfen [8935 6647 5358] and Luo Genji [5012 2704 1015]]

[Text] The article written by Comrade Luo Jinbo--"A Probe of the Strategy in Solving the Problem of Food in the Light of Development"--in issue No 8, 1982, of RED FLAG enlightened us very much. Now, we would like to make a further probe of this issue.

People need various sorts of food, and their diets differ because of differing nationality, historical traditions, habits and customs and natural conditions. However, in the final analysis, all diets are aimed at providing the necessary food sufficient to sustain life. The main nutriments for every human being are calories, protein and fat. According to findings of a survey by some research offices, an adult ordinary laborer in China needs approximately 2,600 calories, 75 grams of protein and 73 grams of fat every day.

Meanwhile, according to a survey report by the State Statistics Bureau, the Chinese people got on average in 1981, 2,666 calories, 78.8 grams of protein and 41.1 grams of fat every day.

From the above figures, we come to understand that the caloric level is sufficient for all the common people in China, fat is short by 43 percent and protein seems to be sufficient in quantity but is not enough in quality because their protein mainly comes from plant foods. A human body itself cannot synthesize eight kinds of needed amino acids, namely, lysine, methionine, tryptophan, leucine, isoleucine, phenylalanine acid, threonine and valine. Insufficiency or deficiency of any of them always affects the function of other amino acids and the digestion of food. Animal foods contain more of the necessary amino acids than plant foods, whether in quantity or variety.

The following is a table of the protein content of some staple foods:\*

\*Source of data: "A Table of Food Composition" by the Public Health Research Office of the Chinese Academy of Medical Science, 1976.

<u>Items of food</u>	<u>Protein (percent)</u>	<u>Tryptophan (percentage in protein)</u>	<u>Lysine (percentage in protein)</u>	<u>Methionine (percentage in protein)</u>
Rice (round shaped)	7.25	1.68	3.52	1.73
Wheat flour	10.74	1.14	2.44	1.41
Maize	8.38	0.78	3.67	1.83
Soybean	37.9	1.22	6.05	1.08
Pork (lean meat)	20.8	1.29	7.83	2.68
Cow milk	2.9	1.46	8.17	3.04
Egg	12.7	1.61	5.63	3.41

Apart from these, some other kinds of animal foods also contain much more protein, such as 18 percent in beef, 18.4 percent mutton, 20.4 percent in rabbit meat, chicken 23.3 percent and carp 18.1 percent.

Protein contained in animal and plant foods not only differs in quantity but also in quality. The composition of amino acids in animal protein is almost the same as the protein in the human body, so it is easy for it to be synthesized into the protein needed by the human body. Yet the composition of amino acids in plant protein is quite different from that of protein in the human body. Therefore, only by integrating plant protein with animal protein will the function of protein be promoted. Plant foods can hardly replace all animal foods. Scientific experiments prove that amino acids, especially lysine, methionine and tryptophan, can be balanced only when the proportion between plant protein and animal protein comes to 3 to 1. Insufficiency of animal protein or a disproportion between plant and animal protein often leads to deficiency disease and waste of plant protein in the human body. Consumption of meat per capita in China in 1981 was 24.7 jin, with 5.1 grams of animal protein and 20 grams of fat per day. Judging from the standard requirement in quantity, there was still a shortage of 15 grams of animal protein and 32 grams of fat for each person every day. Therefore, when attention is drawn to developing the production of plant food, particularly the rich proteinaceous bean crops, great attention must also be paid to developing animal husbandry and increasing meat production so as to meet the needs of the people for animal protein and fat.

In China, it is necessary and possible to devote greater efforts to developing animal husbandry. Throughout the country there are 3.3 billion mu of usable grassland, 700 million mu of grass hills or slopes and more than 40 million mu of grass plots along sea beaches. All these are valuable for the development of animal breeding. Apart from this, there is also a large quantity of things which can be used as fodder, such as culm, stalks, chaff and dregs of rice. China has insufficient cultivated land and a large population. It is therefore impossible for us to use too much good grain, as Western countries do, in developing animal husbandry. We have to make full use of forage grass, which is abundant in our country, to feed herbivores such as cattle, sheep and rabbits, with a view to increasing the output of meat and dairy products. When compared with developed countries, the proportion of pork in the composition of meat is now too large in our country, while the proportion of the meat of plant-eating animals is too little. The average proportion of pork in the composition of meat in

the world is 38.7 percent. This proportion in China is 94.1 percent now, while in the United States it is 28.14 percent and 33 percent for both France and the Soviet Union. The average proportion of beef in the composition of meat is 32.9 percent in the world, while it is 2.2 percent in China, 37.6 percent in the United States, 33.9 percent in France and 44.7 percent in the Soviet Union. As for mutton, the world's average proportion is 5.4 percent; there is only 3.7 percent in China. Vigorously developing the breeding of plant-eating animals will enable us not only to make good use of natural resources in our country, but also to reduce the need for food grain and to gradually change the meat composition of our country. As long as we spare no efforts to work hard for the development of live-stock breeding, particularly plant-eating animal breeding, no doubt we will be able to meet step by step the needs of the people for animal protein and fat and to improve the nutrition of the people of the country.

Comrade Luo Jinbo proposed that China must lay emphasis on the production of plant protein, while properly promoting the production of animal protein. This is quite right. He also proposed that we may resort to industrial means to produce lysine and methionine, which are in low quantities in plant protein. This serves as a method to raise the nutritive value of plant protein and as a major step to solve the problem of feeding the population of 1 billion. We believe this proposal can be considered as a major item in future research work, and efforts should be made to strive to produce lysine and methionine in small quantities at an early date. At present, the synthesizing of methionine and lysine in our country is still in an experimental stage. It is difficult to put them into mass production in a shorter time as a means to meet the needs of the population of 1 billion and for use in large quantities as an additive to fodder. Moreover, Comrade Luo Jinbo also suggested that we devote more efforts to the research work in fungus protein extracting from petroleum and natural gas so as to develop the industry of petroleum protein step by step. Now, we also have difficulties in this because it involves large investment, low productivity and high production cost. At present, it is still expensive to trial-produce amino acid because its raw materials are largely food grain. For example, if we add 0.1 percent of methionine to 3 kilograms of fodder for a pig every day, it costs 0.36 yuan, and if we add some lysine, it will cost more. An estimate says 3 kilograms of fodder usually produce 1 kilo of pork, and the cost of additive methionine makes up 50 percent of the price of 1 kilo of pork. Economically, this does not pay; also, most of the peasants and herdsmen can hardly afford it. According to the present actual situation in our country, if we measure the problem economically and technically, it seems to be impossible to produce lysine and methionine by using industrial means in a shorter time in order to raise the nutritive value of plant protein and to improve nutrition of the people of the country. A more practical method is to energetically develop the production of animal protein while promoting the development of plant protein, thus increasing food from domestic animals in large quantities. This will finally bring about a situation as the Chinese people like to say: There is an abundant harvest of all food crops and the domestic animals are all thriving. Only by so doing will the people throughout the country live a life of plenty.

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## MODERN WESTERN ECONOMICS--ENSNARED IN DIFFICULTIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 25-28

[Article by Li Yining [0632 0110 1380]]

[Text] In recent years Chinese economists, including some students from high-level institutes specializing in finance and economics, have been paying a great deal of attention to improving their understanding of and research into Western economics. Some comrades feel that we could use the theories of modern Western economics to guide China's socialist modernized construction, but such an opinion is not correct.

In the 1930's the most serious economic crisis exploded in the capitalist world, causing enormous hardships for the working masses of every capitalist country. The destitute, penniless and homeless unemployed in every country began their struggle to oppose monopoly capital. With increasing strikes and demonstrations the capitalist countries found themselves facing an acute political crisis. The extreme acuteness of the class struggle forced the monopoly capitalist class governments to adopt interventionist measures to get rid of the massive unemployment and solve the economic crisis. Thus, the orthodox principle of traditional vulgar capitalist class economics, which states that the capitalist system achieves a balance between supply and demand through free competition and on this basis avoids any economic crisis, was seen to be completely refuted and destroyed. Beliefs which stated that a government should not intervene in the freedom of the national economy and which supported policies of nonintervention were thus seen to be exposed as outdated and hackneyed. Thus, it was that the trend of state intervention grew in popularity in bourgeois economics. The most important representative of this new trend was the English bourgeois economist Keynes. In 1936 Keynes' book "A General Survey of Employment, Interest and Currency" was published and was seen as a "milestone" in the development of modern Western economics. Keynes' principle of economics was essentially the theory of how to use financial deficits and inflation to cope with mass unemployment. After the conclusion of World War II the concept of a state-regulated economy, as advocated by Keynes' followers, became the essential basis for the drawing up of economic policies by governments of all Western countries, in the belief that if the economy was run on this theory and with these policies, then the capitalist economy could totally eliminate economic crises and unemployment and establish stable economic growth.

Some bourgeois economists refer to the 20 years or so after World War II as the "golden age." During these 20 years unemployment in the major capitalist countries was relatively low and there were essentially no large price variations while economic growth was very much in evidence. Furthermore, these economists regarded the "golden age" and the "age of Keynes" as the same thing, apparently believing that the economic growth during those 20 years could be traced back to Keynes' economics. Thus, a misconception grew in the hearts of the people in which modern Western economics, especially the economic theories proposed by Keynes, were seen as lasting theories to liberate the capitalist system from crises and even as compasses to direct and guide economic development in every country. Today, a set of mathematical formulae have added a scientific veneer to this theory of economics, thereby hiding its true vulgar nature.

In actual fact, the economic growth in capitalist countries during the post-war years can be traced to specific historical conditions. The defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan in World War II and the serious weakening of France and Britain meant that the United States became the hegemon of the capitalist world. Waving the flag of "economic cooperation" and "aid," the United States exported large quantities of capital and commodities, making enormous profits. Thus, under the United States' "economic cooperation" and "aid," Western Europe and Japan carried out massive renovation of their fixed capital, quickly expanding their production capacity. At the same time, the conclusion of the war saw a fast, large-scale redeployment of military science and technology into civil economics with enormous growth in science and technology in the capitalist countries and the birth and growth of a series of new industrial sectors. Growth in science and technology caused a great transformation in the material technical basis of capitalist production, vastly raising the labor production rate. Thus, there are many factors from different areas which brought about the large-scale economic growth in capitalist countries during the postwar years. While the measures to regulate the economy advocated by Keynes and his followers had a temporary stimulatory effect on economic growth in the Western countries, their methods of using inflation and financial deficits to stimulate the economy produced disastrous aftereffects. The reason being that unemployment is an integral, component part and creation of capital in the capitalist system, and it is also a factor on which the existence of capitalist production must depend. Thus, it simply cannot be solved, as Keynes said it could, by depending on stimulated investment and consumption. Furthermore, the enormous financial deficits and constant inflation simply served to exacerbate the contradictions between the expansion of the Western countries' domestic social production capacity and the demands of the working people with remunerative capabilities. Thus, the situation led to surplus production and unemployment figures grew, once again aggravating the contradictions within the capitalist countries. This then is the background to the financial crisis in the capitalist world at the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's and the economic crisis from 1973-1975. The combination of the economic crisis and the financial crisis pushed up unemployment and inflation and aggravated trade wars, currency wars and investment wars between the major capitalist countries. The addition of a fall-off in economic results, a shrinkage in economic growth and

serious social problems meant that the Western governments who had seen Keynesism as a panacea for curing all the ills of capitalist found themselves at a total loss at what to do, while those Western economists who had been ardent adherents of Keynes' theories were totally perplexed. Why was it that the economic policies outlined by Keynes failed? In the capitalist economic world many people warned that Keynesism would run into a crisis and Western economics with it.

Throughout the 1970's Western economists kept up a tangled and confused war. There were some who had not been among those to praise Keynes' economics and state interventionism but whose voices in opposition to Keynes had not been well heard during the 20 or so years after World War II when Keynes economics occupied what appeared to be a position of total superiority in Western economics. Now was their time to be heard. They announced that it was necessary to return to the traditional economic freedom which existed before Keynes, with the implementation of fewer state interventionist policies. The main factions among capitalist economists of that time, advocating a move toward economic freedom, included the currency school of thought which advocated a stable rate of increase in currency supplies, led by Friedman [1715 6849 1795 2581], the school of thought which advocated large-scale tax cuts and stimulated supplies led by Laffer and Wannisk [2139 1715 8001 4539 2448 1015] and the school of thought which espoused new freedom and a return to the free competition of the 19th century, led by Hayek [0761 5102 0344]. In addition there were some who not only had not praised and welcomed Keynes' methods of interventionist economics but who had even opposed Keynes and the methods of analysis adopted by pre-Keynesian orthodox and vulgar economists which avoided and ignored structural problems within the capitalist system. They felt that the policies and theories of orthodox Western economics at the time were nothing more than "trimming" methods for the presently existing system structure and that these measures were not structural reforms. The advocates of this kind of structural reform were economists of the new system school of thought (such as the American Galbraith [0502 1422 1580 7191 1835] and others). In addition there was another group who had originally been in agreement with Keynes but who, having realized that Keynes' original theories would not successfully deal with the many ills in the capitalist economy but who nevertheless wanted to preserve Keynes' traditional foundation, adapted and preserved Keynes' theory. Today, there are now two mainstreams of Keynesism, namely the mainstream school of post-Keynesism, led by the American Samuelson [5646 4924 1422 2773] and the new Cambridge school, led by J. Robinson [8774 5012 6333 6676] from Britain. The mainstream school of post-Keynesism feels that the use of financial deficits and inflation to "alleviate" economic crises should basically still be maintained but that some theoretical points from pre-Keynesian traditional economics should also be incorporated into Keynes' theory. On the other hand the new Cambridge school denounces the mainstream school of post-Keynesism as being "fake Keynesists" and believes that problems should be handled by concentrating on "improving" revenue redistribution (such as imposing high-level progressive taxation) and in this way alleviating the social contradictions of the capitalist society.

This controversy which rages between the different factions or schools of contemporary bourgeois economics actually reflects the difficult situation into which Western economics has sunk. Although the present two factions of modern Keynesism along with the currency school, the supply school and the new freedom school all censure one another, not one of them is actually able to solve the multitude of problems facing present capitalist social economics. The reason for this is that it is the fundamental contradictions within capitalism which are the root cause for capitalist economic crises, inflation, unemployment and economic stagnation and hence neither the measures of state intervention advocated by Keynesists nor the economic freedom advocated by others are able to solve the contradictions between the growth of the capitalist production forces and its opposition to the demands of the working masses with remunerative capabilities. Certainly, certain aspects of the general sickness can be slightly alleviated by either increased or reduced intervention but the disease essentially remains and returns frequently and the measures taken to temporarily alleviate one aspect of the sickness simply give birth to an even more serious crisis.

Today the serious situation into which Western economics has fallen is, in terms of analysis of its essential theories, inevitable. With the pretense of so-called "psychoanalysis," the Keynesists are in fact simply glossing over the basic contradiction in capitalism and refusing to acknowledge that the root of the economic crises lies in the capitalist system itself. The advocates in every faction which supports economic freedom are only nominally in support of free competition and opposed to total monopoly whereas in actual fact the placing in absolute opposition of monopoly and competition merely conceals the general situation in capitalist society. Furthermore, the theories of these factions support allowing the free market economy to develop on its own and this is tantamount to asking for noninterference in the large capital's annexation of small capital and the large enterprises' exploitation of the small enterprise. The advanced economic efficiency which these theories advocate is exactly the same as providing support for the development of large private companies. As far as the new system faction is concerned, it claims that while preserving the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production and maintaining the capitalist state machine, it can, through various improvement measures in different areas, actually improve and perfect the nature of the capitalist society. What this faction is actually advocating is the theory of reformism in capitalist society in which the interests of the exploiting class and the exploited class can be mutually coordinated.

At present, in order to retrieve their economic theories from the difficulties into which they have fallen, many of the Western economists are thinking very hard about changing economics into an "exact science" and thus are trying as hard as possible to change economics into something similar to a natural science. They have filled economics to overflowing with mathematical formulae while the economic metrological model that they have constructed continues to grow to enormous proportions with increasing complexity and the arithmetic needed for economics become more and more abstruse. Not only are economic growth and economic cycles expressed with mathematical formulae, but so too are certain problems relating to the



political system. Of course quantitative analysis is very important in economic research, but scientific quantitative analysis must be directed by a scientific economic theory; such a vulgar economic theory as that represented by modern Western economics as a basis for quantitative analysis is not only unable to clarify the real development of objective situations and facts, but it actually conceals the contradictions within today's capitalist world.

Other people, also wanting to rescue Western economics from the mire into which it has fallen, are thinking hard about integrating economic research with sociological research and using sociology, logic and social psychology to fill in the gaps in modern Western economics. They suggest that there is a need to totally reexamine the theoretical standards of economic behavior, asking, for example, such questions as what is "good," what is "evil," what is "happiness," what is "human value," what are "common aims" and so on. This trend must be seen as a form of resistance against the obsession with quantitative analysis and also as a reflection of the intensification and increasing complexity of the present capitalist economic and social crises. Although the Western economists' present emphasis on the "socialization of economics" to rescue economic theory from its predicament has, to a certain extent, exposed some of the problems within capitalist economics, the fact that they have replaced class analysis with supraclass discussion compounded by the fact that they base their research work on such abstractions as "human value" and "common aims" means that these theories and trends are merely cosmetics for the beautification of both the capitalist system and the moral standards of the capitalist class society. They are unable to solve any of the present problems within capitalist society. Those Western economists who advocate the use of sociological analysis in handling the ills of the present capitalist society's economy are equally at a total loss.

The economists of the new Cambridge school believe that there are things to be found within David Ricardo's theory of value and theory of distribution which may act as basis for Keynesian economics. They also feel that Marx' theories and Keynes' theories can mutually enrich each other. This hotchpotch of ideas is a misinterpretation of Ricardo's theories, a distortion of Marx' theories and a beautification of Keynes' theories. As we know, Ricardo was a classical economist of the British capitalist class, Keynes is a vulgar economist of the modern capitalist class, while Marx was the revolutionary mentor of the working class as well as the creator of proletariat political economics. Marx inherited classical political economics and then critically carried out revolutionary improvements on it. Marxist political economics is fundamentally opposed to modern Western bourgeois economics. The idea of linking up the economic theories of Marx, Keynes and Ricardo is counterscientific. Furthermore, such an approach could not hope to change the fate of destruction which awaits modern bourgeois economics.

Although, as far as the analysis of some concrete problems is concerned, modern Western economics does contain some things worth our consideration (such as economic management, technological economics and research into



methods of economic metrology), to consider modern Western economics as a theoretical system is both vulgar and counterscientific. It has already sunk into difficulties and it will now only continue to sink even deeper.

Some younger comrades who lack understanding of the true nature and present condition of modern Western economics, or who have been confused by the formulae and principles to be found in modern Western economics textbooks or who have thought about the relatively fast economic growth that took place in Western countries during the postwar period, falsely believe that modern Western economics is a scientific economic theory. In fact, they only have to appreciate the mire into which modern Western economics is now sinking and the pessimism and depression that surround modern Western economists to understand the words of Hayek's speech on accepting the Nobel Prize for economics: "It must be admitted that the present rapidly increasing inflation is a result of the policies which the vast majority of economists have recommended or even urged their governments to implement. In truth, we have no worthy reason to be proud, for, as far as my own work is concerned, we've already botched it up."

Modern Western economics cannot cure the capitalist society's economics of its many woes and even less can it be used as a guiding ideology for economic construction in a socialist country. It must be understood that specific economic and social developmental targets are conditioned by specific socioeconomic systems and are decided under the guidance of specific economic theories. China is a socialist country. Socialist economics has decided that we must adopt Marxism as our guide and on the basis of socialist public ownership of the means of production we carry out production with the aim of fulfilling the constantly increasing material and cultural demands of the people. Historical experience provides ample proof that as long as we take Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as our guiding ideology and draw up economic policies based on the actual conditions in China, then China's socialist economy will flourish and see increasing prosperity.

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## ON THE MODERNIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY'S MEDICAL SCIENCE

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[Article by Huang Jiasi [7806 1367 7475] and Wu Jieping [0702 7132 1627]]

[Text] Medical science arose and developed out of man's fight against disease and its long-term aim is to improve the standards of health of mankind, prevent and cure illness, preserve the labor force and lengthen man's life. Medical science in different countries shares some common features but differences in such factors as economic levels, cultural and scientific foundations and social systems mean that in each country medical science also has its own special characteristics. Naturally since China is at present in the historical period of opening up a new vista in socialist modernization, so medical science finds itself facing questions of how to handle modernization construction. A discussion of these questions must be integrated with China's present actual condition and we must emphasize and take good look at our own experiences and general developmental rules of medical science since the founding of the PRC.

### A Look Back at the Development of China's Medical Science

China is a country with a civilization which stretches back several thousand years. Chinese medicine is an important integral part of our glorious culture. Way back in ancient times the Chinese people began to assimilate knowledge and experience in curing and preventing sickness and disease. From the very earliest medical books "Huang Di Nei Jing" to Zhang Zhongjing's Han Dynasty "Shang Han Za Bing Lun" and the multitude of later medical books, Chinese medicine not only amassed a wealth of experiences but it also created a theoretical system. In the Ming Dynasty, Li Shizhen's enormous 52 volume tome "Ren Cao Gang Mu," which was read both throughout China and abroad, became established as a veritable pearl in the history of world medical science. Chinese medicine was extremely important in the increasing prosperity of the peoples of China and its theoretical successes far outweighed those of traditional medicine in other countries. Take for example the principles such as "diagnosis and treatment based on overall analysis of the illness and the patient's condition," "different cures for like illnesses" and "like cures for different illnesses" all of which illustrate how skilled Chinese scholars were at taking rich, practical experiences and elevating them to a high level of rational knowledge.

Western medicine began and developed from its foundations in ancient Greece. It began with Hippocrates' systematic research and from this time right up until the Renaissance emphasis on experimental research made Western medicine more and more scientific. Later, achievements in the natural sciences during the 19th century allowed enormous development for Western medicine. Dissection research, probing of physiological functions, pathogenic research, the discovery of microbes, cellular pathology, the study of pharmaceuticals and pharmacology were all gradually set up as basic branches of medicine and through constant experimentation and research they widened and increased in depth so that both clinical medicine and preventive medicine developed very fast. As one composite branch of the applied sciences, medicine became an overall theoretical and applied system. Around about the time of the opium wars, Western medicine spread into China and it had firm foundations in China as many as a hundred years before the founding of the PRC. Thus China found itself in the presence of both Western and Chinese medicine and as a result of historical conditions these two medical schools of thought were not only unable to develop in coordination but furthermore they created a situation of mutual rejection.

Since the founding of the PRC and under correct party guidance, the last 30 years of hard work has produced enormous successes for China's undertakings in health and hygiene, as well as success in medical scientific research. China has eradicated smallpox and has basically brought under control such infectious diseases as the plague, cholera, venereal disease, kala-azar, polio and so on as well as greatly reducing the occurrence of schistosomiasis, malaria, leprosy and encephalitis B. There has been considerable development in such areas of preventive medicine, clinical medicine, pharmaceuticals, antibiotics, biological products, medical equipment and so on. Work on extensive burn treatment, replantation of severed limbs and the remarkable results achieved as well as investigations and research into tumor epidemiology have all attracted international attention. There is absolutely no comparison between the standards of modern medical research and their achievements and the situation prior to liberation. Something particularly worth attention is the commencement of an integration and mutual absorption between Chinese and Western medicine. Acupuncture anesthesia has been very successful in clinical usage and this has advanced our research into the principles of acupuncture. The integration of Western and Chinese medicine has improved the cure rate of many illnesses and has enriched clinical treatment methods. The integration of Western and Chinese medicine has not only brought about good results in mending broken bones and curing acute abdominal diseases, it has also changed some traditional Western medical viewpoints. At the 1978 National Science Assembly, there were 335 awards made for achievements in medical science. In addition, over the last few years some achievements in medical science have earned national discovery awards. General improvements in standards of health in the population as well as increases in average life expectancy both help to illustrate the development in China's medical and hygiene undertakings.

The above basic outline of the development of Chinese medical science shows us the unique and independent path of development that medical science in

in China has taken. The basic situation today is as follows: There is already a basic foundation for Chinese medicine and hygiene work and the coexistence of Chinese and Western medicine possesses three main branches, namely Chinese medicine (including national minority medicines), Western medicine and integrated Western and Chinese medicine. The modernization of China's medical science must be based on this foundation, offsetting its weaknesses with its strong points and giving expression to its advantages.

#### The General Situation in Modern Medical Science

The growth of medical science depends to a very great extent on the growth of the organic sciences. The present growth of natural sciences and technological sciences and their infiltration into the organic sciences has meant that research into organic sciences has moved from qualitative to quantitative research and has reached the molecular and in some cases the quantum level. Growth in the organic sciences is today exerting an enormous influence on research in medical science. Research in medical science has now entered the molecular level and is now able to examine the principles of the occurrence and development of disease at much deeper levels and as a result develop specially effective methods of prevention and cure for certain diseases. For example, recent developments in genetic engineering technology have produced some important results in research into cancer and have shown the existence in human tumors of DNA formations which change normal cells into cancerous ones, now referred to as cancerous genes, and furthermore the only difference between these formations which have already undergone this change in cancerous cells and normal, healthy genes is a difference in the nucleoglucosidic acid. This has given us important clues to the mystery of tumors. The infiltration of cellular biology, genetics and molecular biology into immunology have meant that the previously organizationally incompatible principles of genetics which formed the very key to organ transplantation have now been essentially clarified. Now many diseases and illnesses whose causes were previously unclear have been proved to be directly linked to immunity, thereby clearly pointing the direction for the treatment of these illnesses. There is now a very thorough understanding of the workings of bacteria, germs, viruses and parasites in relation to their host cells and this has provided a theoretical basis for improving preventive medicine. Some diseases are caused by chronic viruses and this was previously not understood, but once the cause of a disease is understood one has a concrete target for seeking a cure.

The increasing infiltration of the natural sciences and engineering technology in both theory and practice into medical science has from the engineering angle widened and increased research into human bodily structure, functions and internal bodily relations and thus solved many related problems within medical science. Research in this area has led to the production of artificial human organs. Electro-technology is becoming more and more widespread in diagnosis, curing, monitoring and prevention. The use of computers is now changing the entire face of medical science.

As medical science researches the very nature of life itself and launches into the microcosm, it is also developing at the same time into macroscopy. Research moves from the individual to the group to society. Knowledge of medical science has expanded from a simple biological point of view to encompass such scientific areas as psychology, sociology and anthropology. In the last 30 years there have been deep and widespread changes in medical scientific research and we may predict that in the future there will be enormous breakthroughs in areas of medical science and hygiene work that today pose insoluble problems.

#### Several Problems Concerning the Modernization of Medical Science in China

Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that work in science and technology should cater to the needs of economic construction and that scientists and technologists should throw themselves wholeheartedly into the glorious practice of socialist modernized construction. Today's problems are how, under this guiding ideology, we should activate the enthusiasm of medical workers, medical scientists and medical administrative and management personnel to break down old frameworks and steadfastly carry out a series of reforms thereby raising standards of hygiene work and medical science in China.

1. We must steadfastly implement the party's principles relating to hygiene work, using relatively high standards of science and technology to fulfill health protection duties. The successes in hygiene work during the last 30 years clearly prove the accuracy of China's principles relating to hygiene work. In the early days of the PRC medical hygiene workers were very few in number, organization was incomplete and lacking, disease was rife and health standards among the population were very low with a high death rate and low life expectancy. Thus the fact that we were able to overcome these difficulties and to change the whole face of hygiene throughout the country in such a short time and greatly improve health standards was due to the fact that we outlined and emphasized the principles that hygiene work should serve the people, that everyone should be mobilized to fight against disease and above all steadfastly practice prevention. Thus while scientific and technological standards were relatively low, as far as the medical protection that the entire population in China receives is concerned, it was in some ways more effective than that in scientifically and technologically advanced countries. Westerners, especially those working in medical science and hygiene have always been deeply impressed by this and have praised it profusely. In order to achieve greater successes in medical and hygiene work we must continue to uphold this principle and work hard to improve scientific and technological standards, strengthening education and training of medical and hygiene workers on every level and developing work in scientific research.

2. We must research prevention and cure of all diseases which seriously damage the health of the people and thereby preserve the labor force. In the last 30 years we have constantly emphasized research into pressing problems affecting the people's health, adapting as soon as possible all scientific results into effective tools to prevent and cure disease. Today we should continue to make these pressing problems which affect the health

of the people the prime task for medical scientific research, striving for great results. We should realize that while there have already been great achievements in the prevention and cure of infectious and parasitic diseases, this is not the case for acute and chronic infectious diseases. As life expectancy increases, arterial diseases, cancer and diseases of the respiratory system have become the main causes of death and thus we must increase research in these areas. As economic construction develops, if we do not investigate in minute detail prior to construction the dangers to the health of workers and citizens that can arise in the production process, then the aftereffects could be very serious. Environmental pollution is one such example. We must emphasize research work in these areas and integrate them with the actual situation in China in searching for effective solutions. Today there are very many pharmaceuticals, biological products, and much medical monitoring equipment and machinery used in the prevention and curing of disease and demand for these things is great, thus we must ensure an integration of research, production and utilization, constantly improving quality and making use of new technology. Relevant product types should be produced according to the needs of the various medical institutions in all urban and rural areas while final design and makeup of all products should guarantee quality. One important problem today is ensuring the quality of batch production products. Since research and production in these areas extends over a very wide area, the numbers of scientific fields, work units and workers which must participate are also great and thus we must stress overall planning and coordinated division of labor.

3. We must emphasize fundamental research at the same time as increasing applied research. In the early years of the PRC there was a much greater lack of medical scientific personnel than medical hygiene workers; one could count on one's fingers the number of work units which were able to start research work, and there were even only a very few hospitals carrying out clinical research work. As far as the principle of integrating propagation and improvement was concerned, this situation meant that in actual fact it was only propagation work that could be carried out as we lacked the means to carry out necessary improvement work. This situation was already well noted in 1956 when the first national scientific plans were drawn up and by the 1960's the situation had already changed, but the small amount of strength that we had just mustered was seriously damaged during the following 10 years of social chaos. At that time our fundamental theoretical research was actually branded as "divorced from reality," "divergent from the socialist direction" and so on and thus medical scientific research was wiped out. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and in particular after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, medical scientific research work was at last able to gradually recover and grow. The many kinds of cultural exchange with foreign countries in recent years have played a definite role in promoting and improving research work in China. Today there are a certain number of work units which already have the foundations for actively developing research work. In the future we must firmly implement the principle of integrated propagation and improvement, emphasizing research work and organizing a certain amount of our forces to carry out basic research. Medical science

is an applied science and thus most research is characteristically applied research, directly linked to the prevention and curing of disease, improvement of health standards and the protection of the labor force. But without basic research it is very difficult to achieve any outstanding achievements in applied research, thus it is vital that a certain amount of our forces be assigned basic research work. Basic research in medical research is in fact applied basic research and the vast majority of it does not represent an insurmountable barrier in front of practical work. At present the numbers of people and material resources that we are able to invest in research work are very few and for this reason we must work even harder to improve organizational and management work. Decentralization of work topics, lack of concentration of our forces, sluggish development and lack of necessary coordination as well as repetitive work with low standards are all still very common today. We must prioritize the drawing up of medium- and long-term development plans concentrating on several key topics.

4. We must carry on Chinese medicine and continue our work in integrating Chinese and Western medicine. The three-faceted structure of Chinese medicine, Western medicine and an integration of the two is a victory for China's principles concerning hygiene. As far as the integration of Chinese and Western medicine is concerned we have now gained only a few initial experiences and this facet of the whole is still very small today and it must continue to be developed and enlarged. Without Chinese medicine it would be impossible to continue to integrate Chinese and Western medicine and thus it is vital that we draw up plans for training more doctors of Chinese medicine and plans for passing on the science of Chinese medical science. It has already been proved that a good and effective way of encouraging the integration of Chinese and Western medicine is for Western medicine to learn from Chinese medicine and this should now be planned in an organized fashion. It is absolutely vital that students of most medical colleges do study in the basic principles of Chinese medicine (including practical field work) during their other studies. In this way every medical worker may gain a basic understanding of Chinese medicine and this will be of benefit in integrating Chinese and Western medicine during their practical work as well as providing them with a foundation for further study of Chinese medicine.

5. Increase research into family planning and eugenics. Family planning is a basic national policy in China and directly influences the realization of national economic plans and improvements in the people's living standards. Among the many areas of family planning work China does have some technical measures which occupy very advanced positions in international circles but despite this there are still many problems requiring our research. There are still many problems which need researching in order that we may offer more convenient and safer drugs and devices for contraception, birth and child-raising. Since China has such an enormous population there are often problems that need to be solved in disseminating some of our more effective technical measures.

6. We must train all kinds of medical personnel and solve questions of advanced or refresher courses for them. China is a vast country and the



needs of the rural and the urban areas are not necessarily the same. Thus one form of teaching system will not be able to satisfy the needs of every area. Thus we must on the basis of different needs, research how to train all kinds of medical personnel. In order to improve medical standards it is extremely important that we organize in a planned way refresher courses or advanced courses for medical personnel and try and ensure that research personnel in relevant scientific areas take part in medical scientific research work. The methods put forward by the hygiene department which include overall planning, graded responsibilities, variations suited to local conditions and emphasis on practical results will produce some experiences very soon and these must be publicized.

In order to open up a new vista in the modernization of China's medical science and in order to realize the above-outlined ideas, we must maintain a firm and courageous spirit of reform, and then carry out overall and systematic reform. This reform work will touch on every area of the system of medicine and hygiene as well as all relevant organizations and some regulation systems. It will also touch on every work unit, every medical technician and every member of management personnel. The key to all this reform is how to give full expression to the intellectuals and how to stimulate the enthusiasm of the intellectuals, especially young and middle-aged medical technicians. This means that our work should begin in such areas as the wages system, personnel matters, the system of personal responsibility and the system of bonuses and awards. We must implement the party's policies concerning intellectuals and change the phenomenon of insufficient expertise and wasted talent. During the overall reform process we must improve ideological teaching work for medical technicians and other workers in relevant jobs for only in this way can reform be carried out smoothly. At this minute a new vista for lively and flourishing modernized medical science is being born.

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## ON PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 33-35

[Article by Luo Guojie [5012 0948 2638]]

[Text] The report on the 12th party congress states that one of the most important parts of the construction of socialist spiritual civilization is "the need to strengthen education of professional responsibility, professional ethics and professional discipline in every enterprise and work place." It is predictable that as activities related to constructing a socialist spiritual civilization increase and develop, professional ethics will take on an increasingly important role.

Professional ethics are very closely linked to people's professional activities and they may be said to be ethical standards and norms with the characteristics of one's own particular profession. Since everyone who does the same kind of specific job has common working methods and has received common professional training, it is usual for such people to share common professional interests, likes, habits and psychological traditions, which, when combined, produce special relations and create special professional responsibilities and professional discipline, and these in turn produce special codes of behavior and ethical demands. In "Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy," Engels wrote that within social life "every class, even every business, has its own ethics." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 236) The ethics of what he called "every business" are the professional ethics under discussion here.

In historical terms, professional ethics appeared as early as the slave society, alongside the development of the social division of labor. For example, the celebrated doctor of ancient Greece, Hippocrates (460-377 BC), was one of the first to bring up the question of medical ethics. He said: "I will use my abilities and my mind to their utmost to cure a patient and will on no account harm him or her. No matter whose household I enter, my purpose will be the welfare of the sufferer and my duty will be to prevent them from deteriorating and degenerating." By the time the feudal society arrived, professional ethics had seen some development. For example, China's famous Tang Dynasty doctor, Sun Simiao, included in his work "Qianjin Yaofang," two pieces, entitled "Medical Practice" and "Medical Faith," in which he clarified in great detail the wisdom and morals that a

doctor should possess. He believed that a doctor of high moral fiber should not seek personal gain by means of his expert skills, but that all patients should be treated equally, regardless of whether they were rich or poor, young or old, beautiful or ugly. After the arrival of the capitalist society the human division of labor had become very detailed and thus professional ethics became more and more diversified.

The important characteristics or demands of professional ethics are what people frequently refer to as "love for one's work" and "faithfulness in the discharge of one's professional duties." Both of these aspects of professional ethics are related to each other and both have their particular emphases. Love for one's work means a love for the profession that one has, protection of the interests of one's profession, constant improvement of one's skills and attempting to fully exploit one's professional abilities. Faithfulness in the discharge of one's professional duties means a conscious awareness of the duties one has to society and to others in carrying out one's job and a highly developed sense of professional responsibility. As we know, the main function of ethics is to regulate interpersonal relations and in general professional ethics are required to regulate two main aspects of these relations: one is the handling of internal relations between the people of one profession and the other handles the relations between them and others with whom they come into contact. In historical terms every professional group has always aimed at protecting its own interests, its own professional credibility and professional honor and has thus not only set up a system of rules and established certain ethical standards, thereby regulating the internal human relations within the professional body, but also has taken care to fulfill demands put on the profession by every area of society, and thus through its own professional activities regulate relations between the profession and every area of society. For example, a doctor must not only love his or her work and strive to improve medical technology, he or she must also have an acute sense of responsibility toward the patient. Regardless of who the patient is, the doctor must always espouse the spirit of healing the wounded and rescuing the dying and try his or her utmost to relieve the suffering of the patient. We should recognize that the hard work that mankind has done in the area of professional ethics has had a profound influence on the development of ethics as a whole, greatly helping forward development in ethics.

However, historical materialism states that in the final analysis all ethics are products of the socioeconomic situation and professional ethics in any society are a reflection of the economics and politics of that society and are governed by the political ideology of the ruling class of that society. Just as Engels said: "Consciously or unconsciously, people absorb their ethical beliefs, in the final analysis, from the actual relations on which their class position is based and from the economic relations with which they carry out production and exchange." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 133) In a society with a system of private ownership of the means of production, since the means of production are privately owned, political power lies in the hands of the exploiting class and the ethical principles of egoism occupy a dominant and ruling position

in the society and professional ethics cannot help but be influenced by the ideology of the exploiting class, bringing with it varying extents of cliquishness and guildism. Only the attainment of political power by the proletariat and the construction of a new form of socialist society with a system of public ownership of the means of production may bring about fundamental changes in professional ethics. The professional ethics of a socialist society are on the one hand the continuation of professional ethics which have grown and developed over a long historical period but, on the other hand, also display essential differences in nature from the professional ethics to be found under a system of private ownership of the means of production.

The professional ethics of a socialist society are based on the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production. With the socialist society's eradication of human exploitation and relations of hiring and being hired and the casting off of the egoistic principles of "every man for himself and God for every man," the socialist society can in a very fundamental way harmonize professional interests with the essential interests of the entire society and thus establish a new form of relations involving mutual help and cooperation characterized by interpersonal camaraderie. In a socialist society every profession is an integral and component part of the entire socialist cause and thus every line of work is able to establish common ethical demands, the chief characteristic of which is to serve the people. In a socialist society, everyone carrying out every kind of work should base their work on serving the people, both in loving their work and faithfully discharging their professional duties, and should make the aim of their work the satisfaction of the demands of the people. For example, business ethics in the socialist society emphasize that those working in business and commerce should be totally honest and should be positive, enthusiastic, patient and considerate toward clients, and eager to meet the needs of the client. All of this is not simply designed to solicit more customers and increase profits nor is it for any narrow-minded professional interests or personal glorification, but is simply to serve the people. Literary writers in the socialist society should constantly improve their skills but not for their own fame and wealth nor should it be seen as simply art for art's sake, rather, they should strive to fulfill the spiritual and cultural needs of the people. Thus we can see from this that professional ethics in a socialist society organically unites the interests of each worker in every profession with the interests of the masses so that professional interests are subordinate to the interests of the people. In this way professional ethics play a role of historically unprecedented importance in the regulation of interpersonal relations.

Professional ethics in a socialist society, in terms of their establishment and propagation throughout society, have an extremely significant role to play in raising ethical standards throughout the society, improving the social atmosphere, establishing new forms of interpersonal relations and fostering a new generation of "idealistic, ethical, cultured and disciplined" people.

First and foremost, professional ethics must be constantly respected by every person in their working lives. Only when such ethical principles and standards as collectivist thinking, wholeheartedly working for the people and respect and love for the common property of socialism have been implemented into the professional ethics of the people will these principles and standards be able to increase their effective role. "The National Professional Regulations" emphasizes "respect for one's job, emulation of the advanced, increased quality and striving for efficiency." "The Capital Science and Technology Workers Scientific Ethical Norms" emphasizes "bold investigation, bold attack, disregard for hardship and dangers, persevering work and a lifelong struggle for scientific truth." It is very clear that the postulation and establishment of such a set of professional ethics will help raise the communist ethical standards of the cadres and the masses. Thus one of the most important things in respecting and obeying communist ethical standards is to obey and respect professional ethical standards.

Second, all the jobs and professions to be found in the socialist society are closely linked with the masses' lives and ideology. If there were a lack of necessary professional ethics and the all-important professional responsibility, with people feeling no sense of duty toward their work, then this would undoubtedly give rise to certain dangers and damage within one's work, even to the extent of producing certain social contradictions and polluting the social atmosphere. On the other hand, a highly developed feeling for professional ethics and a well-developed ideological work style, can directly influence people, educate people and stimulate their emotions, while exerting a gradual, uplifting influence on their morals. This of course is very beneficial in constructing new interpersonal relations characterized by unity, mutual love and help, common struggling and common advancement. Furthermore, it is very beneficial in improving the social atmosphere.

Professional ethics in the socialist society are a brand-new set of ethics based on a foundation of the economic system of public ownership of the means of production and thus they are different from old professional ethics which can be spontaneously created. These new ones have been established as a result of the conscious hard work of the adult members of the socialist society under the guidance of Marxist teaching. Lenin pointed out that socialist and communist consciousness is not produced spontaneously but will arise only as a result of ideological teaching or "imbibing." With this in mind we can also say that without communist education it would be impossible to form and construct a socialist society's professional ethics. In old China professional division of labor was influenced by the class system and thus people always classified jobs in terms of high level, low level, rich or poor and as a result used these same classifications and standards to identify people's position and status in society. It should be noted that today these influences from the old society have still not been completely eradicated and thus they will influence people's thinking to varying degrees. Hence, strengthening communist ideological education in the masses will make them clearly see the nature and character of socialist professions and jobs, and understand the position and duties of their own job within the socialist society, which is extremely important.

In a socialist society, even when dealing with such things as wages and labor conditions, it is impossible to avoid certain differences among all the jobs that people do, but these differences are all necessary in the construction of socialism. Different people doing different jobs may find themselves in different positions as far as their jobs are concerned, but not as far as their wealth is concerned. It is important that everyone doing a job understands, and this is especially true of those doing jobs which were looked down on in the old society, that in a socialist society every job is carried out to serve the people and thus every job has its glory. Every line of work and every trade is an integral part of the cause of socialist construction and every job is intimately linked to the future of China, the interests of the people and modernized construction. As long as every person integrates his or her ideals, expectations and intelligence with the professional reality of serving the people and contributing to socialist modernized construction, then everyone's life will become richer, more substantial and loftier.

Today some people lack correct understanding of their own jobs because they have been influenced by old ways of thinking, old traditions and the professional beliefs of the exploiting classes, thus they are unable to express total enthusiasm. Some people do all they can to avoid certain kinds of jobs and unintentionally feel ashamed if they are below someone else. In regard to this we should also consider those few people in every profession who do not respect or adhere to professional ethics, as a result of having been influenced by the ideology of the exploiting classes inherited from the old society. They exploit whatever power they have for personal gain, thus seriously damaging the interests of the masses. On the basis of the above-outlined situation professional education should not only emphasize the teaching of professional knowledge and skills, but should also emphasize improved teaching of professional ethics, making the teaching of professional ethics of primary importance. In other words, we must help people, especially young people to appreciate the significance of the work they are doing and foster in their hearts feelings of ardor for their work and a strong pioneering spirit. In this way they will come to abide by, protect and develop professional ethics. Those people who have seriously damaged professional ethics to a point which must be considered criminal will be dealt with under the law. Only in this way can we guarantee the healthy development of socialist professional ethics.

The strengthening of the teaching of professional ethics has already become an urgent necessity in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization and the spiritual needs of our age. The activities related to the "five stresses and four beauties" as well as the "three loves" that are already underway are now being well developed in China. If every person in every line of work can increase his or her consciousness for respecting professional ethics, then the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization in China will reach a new and higher level.

THE PARTY MUST CONDUCT ITS ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE LIMITS PERMITTED BY THE  
CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS OF THE STATE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 36-38

[Article by Zhang Hui [1728 1920]]

[Text] The "CPC Constitution" adopted at the 12th CPC National Congress explicitly stipulates: "The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state." This is an extremely important principle. It has set even higher demands on our party. According to this stipulation, all party organizations, from the Central Committee down to grassroots organs, and all party members and cadres, leading cadres in particular, must strictly observe and implement in an exemplary way the constitution and the laws of the state and must adhere to the principle of equality for all in the face of the law. This means that the activities of all party organizations and party members must not contravene the constitution and the laws of the state and no party member or party organization is allowed to have any privilege beyond the rights stipulated in the constitution and the laws of the state, otherwise they will be investigated and punished without exception.

Why then must the party conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state?

First, this is determined by the nature and objective of our party. Our party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and is the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China. It has no special interests of its own other than those of the working class and the broad masses of the people. The objective of our party is to wholeheartedly serve the people and to work for the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. The constitution and laws of our country are formulated by the people under the party's leadership and have given full expression to the will and interests of the people of the whole country. In our country, the constitution and laws have integrated the party's stand and the people's will. Therefore, it is not only in conformity with the interests of the country and the people but also in keeping with the objective of our party for it to conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. If the party goes against the constitution and the laws of the state, it

will go against the common will of the people of the whole country and damage their interests. This will not only run counter to the objective of our party but will inevitably damage the party's prestige among the masses.

Second, it is a basic demand for strengthening the socialist legal system of our country that our party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. The basic principle of the socialist system of our country is: There must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with. This means that we must not only make and have laws but also observe and enforce them. Without sound and complete laws, it will be impossible to strengthen the legal system. However, if there are laws but they are not observed and enforced, it will be the same as if there were no laws. The constitution is the fundamental law of the state and all other laws are made on the basis of the spirit of the constitution. Once the constitution and the laws are promulgated for enforcement by the supreme organ of state power, they possess extremely great authority and a universal restraining force. All state organs, state functionaries, citizens and social organizations must observe them without exception. The CPC is the leading core of our country and people and it assumes a leading position in all aspects of state affairs and social life. However, it does not place itself above, but rather among the state and the people. It is a part of the people and each party member is an ordinary member of the masses of the people. Therefore, like other social organizations and other members of society, the party's organizations at all levels and its members are dutybound to observe the constitution and the laws and are strictly governed by the constitution and the laws. Besides, it is precisely because the party is in a leading position that the party is shouldering particularly great responsibilities in safeguarding the sanctity of the constitution and the laws and ensuring their enforcement. The CPC should play an exemplary role in observing the constitution and the laws. Only if the party's organizations at all levels and its members take the lead in observing the laws can they effectively bring along all state organs, social bodies and citizens in strictly enforcing and consciously observing the constitution and the laws. If the members and organizations at various levels of a ruling party can violate at will stipulations of the constitution and the laws, the authority of the socialist legal system of our country will be seriously damaged and it will be impossible to ask other social organizations and other members of the society to act strictly according to law. We must understand that since our party is a ruling party leading the political power throughout the whole country, its position as a ruling party will easily give rise to a special privilege mentality of ignoring the laws. Moreover, as a result of damage done to the socialist democracy and social system in the 10 years of internal disorder and the pernicious influence of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and because the influence of "leftist" ideas have not yet been completely eliminated, even now quite a large number of party members, including some responsible cadres, are not very clear about the importance of strengthening the legal system. The phenomena of not observing the laws and not strictly enforcing them still exist in some



units and localities. If this situation is not resolutely changed, it will be impossible to strengthen the socialist legal system in our country.

That our party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws has been put forward on the basis of scientifically summing up the positive and negative experiences of our party in leading the building of the legal system in the past 30 years and more and is an important achievement in bringing order out of chaos since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. In the first few years after the setting up of the country, our party attached much importance to building the people's democratic legal system. Our party not only actively led the people of the whole country in formulating our country's first constitution and a series of laws and decrees but also repeatedly educated its party members to take the lead in observing the constitution and the laws of the state. In 1954, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Liu Shaoqi put forward at the First Session of the First NPC: "Members of the CPC must play an exemplary role in observing the constitution and other laws." In 1956, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also stressed in his "Report on the Revision of the CPC Party Constitution" at the Eighth CPC National Congress: "The draft party constitution demands that all party members, without exception and irrespective of his contributions and position, observe the party constitution and the laws of the state and follow communist ethics." The party constitution adopted at the Eighth CPC National Congress stipulated for the first time that observing state laws is one of the duties of a party member. On the whole, in the early and middle 1950's, the overwhelming majority of our party's organizations at various levels and its members consciously observed and strictly enforced the constitution and the laws of the state and actively safeguarded their sanctity, thus effectively promoting smooth progress of the socialist transformation and socialist construction. However, beginning at the end of the 1950's, the phenomena of belittling the legal system and not observing the laws become more and more serious because of the influence of erroneous "leftist" ideas. The concept of the legal system began to thin out and consequently many activities of the party departed from the orbit of the constitution and the laws. This was particularly so during the 10 years of internal disorder the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques wantonly trampled on the constitution and the laws. They were absolutely lawless. They substituted their words for laws and placed power above the laws. With their order, people could be thrown into prison and even be put to death. As a result, the broad masses of cadres and people were ruthlessly attacked and struggled against, giving rise to a large number of unjust, false and wrong cases. Party organizations were also damaged. Lessons drawn from the past have shown that because of the leading position of the party in state affairs, whether or not the party's organizations at various levels and its members conduct their activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws is closely related to whether or not the constitution and the laws will be earnestly enforced and whether or not they can really become weapons for protecting the people and hitting at the enemies.



Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee which is of great historical significance, our party has attached great importance to and stressed developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system. It also has formulated a series of important policies and principles in this respect. This is not only a fundamental guarantee for our party to lead the people of the whole country in fulfilling the historical mission of the new period but also a development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in theories concerning the state and party building. The communique of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee explicitly pointed out: "In order to safeguard people's democracy, it is imperative to strengthen the socialist legal system so that democracy is systematized and written into law in such a way as to ensure the stability, continuity and full authority of this democratic system and these laws; there must be laws for people to follow, these laws must be observed, their enforcement must be strict and lawbreakers must be dealt with." On the basis of summing up historical experiences, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee further pointed out: A fundamental task of the socialist revolution is to gradually establish a highly democratic political system; it is essential to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, improve our constitution and laws and ensure their strict observance and inviolability; and like other social organizations, party organizations at all levels must conduct their activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws. An extremely important content of the 12th CPC National Congress was to stipulate as a strategic task the building of a high level of socialist democracy and a sound socialist legal system and to determine the party's fundamental viewpoints and policies concerning this question. The new party constitution adopted at the 12th CPC National Congress explicitly stipulates that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws. This has never been written in the previous party constitutions since our party became a ruling party.

Will the party's leadership be weakened when we stress that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws? We hold that this will not weaken the party's leadership but precisely is essential for strengthening and improving the party's leadership. What is the party's leadership? The party's leadership is chiefly political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party's political leadership in state affairs is chiefly realized by means of formulating and implementing correct line, principles and policies. The constitution and the laws of our country are the party's line, principles and policies written in concrete forms. In other words, the constitution and laws are legalized line, principles and policies. Besides, only those principles and policies of the party which have been proved through practice to be relatively more mature and essential are written down in legal forms. It can thus be seen that stressing that party members and party organizations at all levels must conduct their activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state and act strictly according to law is precisely for effectively and correctly implementing

the party's line, principles and policies and for better realizing the party's political leadership in state affairs. These two things are not contradictory but are in line with each other. At no time should we set one against the other. Of course, if any law really needs improvement or can no longer meet the needs of the development of the situation and cannot be effectively used to implement the party's correct line, principles and policies, our party may revise or abolish it or make a new one through legal procedures with the approval of the people and by means of organs of state power. Therefore, even under these circumstances, our party's leadership will not be hampered or weakened.

Will the party be bound hand and foot if we stress that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws? We must give a dialectical answer to this question. It is true that the constitution and the laws have a binding force toward any organization or citizen. The question is that the nature of restraint on different persons is different. As Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out in his "Report on the Revision of the Constitution" delivered at the First Session of the Fifth NPC: "The socialist legal system is a deterrent to, and a restraining force upon, lawbreakers and offenders; for enemies who sabotage socialist revolution and construction it is a merciless iron fist; but for the masses of the people it is a code of conduct which they voluntarily observe." The constitution and the laws of our country have given expression to the common will of the people of the whole country. They are formulated by the supreme organ of state power and are guiding principles of our conduct, the enforcement of which is guaranteed by the restraining force of a state under the system of the people's democratic dictatorship. Therefore, once the constitution and the laws have been promulgated, they have a universal restraining force and members and organizations at all levels of the ruling party must also strictly observe and enforce them and must not violate them. However, only those who violate laws and discipline, undermine social order and damage the people's interests, who ignore the people's will, abuse their authority and deliberately violate the laws and who are used to arbitration, substituting what they say for laws, placing their power above the laws and ignoring the laws will find this restraining force binding them hand and foot. This restraining force is very necessary because if these people are not bound hand and foot and if the lawbreakers, including those who are party members and cadres, are not punished according to law, the democratic rights and interests of the broad masses of the people cannot be guaranteed, normal social order cannot be maintained, socialist construction cannot be carried out smoothly and the people's democratic dictatorship cannot be consolidated. People who understand the importance of building the legal system, who consciously observe the constitution and the laws and who act strictly according to law will not regard the constitution and the laws as a restraining force binding them hand and foot. Therefore, when our party conducts its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws, safeguards the sanctity of the constitution and the laws and strictly observes the socialist legal system, it will not bind itself hand and foot but instead will greatly guarantee its work in leading the people of the whole country to create a new situation in all fields of socialist construction.

## INCREASE OUR UNDERSTANDING AND COURAGEOUSLY CONDUCT REFORMS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 p 39

[Article by Xue Song [7185 2646]; excerpts from Jiangsu's QUNZHONG [THE MASSES], issue No 1, 1983]

[Text] Structural reform is a revolution. However, there are comrades whose understanding of the necessity and imperativeness of this revolution is far from adequate. Some people are restricted by conventions and old impressions in their thinking and in looking at things. They think that structural reform is nothing new, it is merely the abolishing, combining and breaking up of organs, and the result is always that "the organs become larger whenever people try to simplify them and the situation becomes more complicated whenever people try to make reforms." Thus, they have little confidence in reforms. Some people proceed from the interests of their narrow circles in looking at problems. After repeated calculations, they always feel that their "temples" cannot be abolished and the "bodhisattvas" cannot be removed. Thus, they are not so resolute about reforms. If such an understanding, idea and state of mind remain unchanged, the smooth implementation of structural reform will certainly be affected.

In the past, we conducted structural reform several times and we had relapses. At that time, we were still at the preliminary stage of socialist construction, some of the shortcomings and evils had not been exposed or not yet fully exposed. Our understanding of the significance of and the difficulties in conducting structural reform was far from adequate. Thus, we underestimated them. In addition, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques tried to sabotage our cause and we were restricted by the protracted "leftist" mistakes and experiences in our guiding ideology. Consequently, we failed to consolidate the results of structural reform every time. How should we handle such relapses today? Xunzi said: "Although the goal is not far away, you cannot reach it if you do not walk; although the job is trivial, you cannot accomplish it if you do not try." Without practice and doing things ourselves, the correct answer and successful experience will not fall from heaven. People try their best to avoid relapses if they want to accomplish something. However, relapses are always unavoidable. There is a famous saying by Dietzgen: "Relapse is the mother of learning." Today, in our structural reform, we "can use relapses for reference" precisely because we had relapses in the past. They have made us more intelligent and confident.

The structural reform carried out this time is an important strategic decision made by the CPC Central Committee after prolonged, thorough and careful consideration. Both the objective and subjective conditions are ripe for reform. Right from the time that the proposal to reform was made, the CPC Central Committee thought that, as long as we are determined to carry out reforms and if we can seize the right opportunity to carry out the reforms in a step-by-step manner, we can ensure that troubles will be avoided. If we follow the steps set by the CPC Central Committee and carry out the reform in a resolute and orderly manner, we can reach the goal as expected. This prediction has been verified by the victory at the first stage of structural reform carried out in the central organs. The idea that "reforms are but old things" is not in keeping with reality. Our worry about relapses in the future is ungrounded. In addition to simplifying the administrative structure, it is necessary to adopt administrative measures to clearly define the limits of authority of the staff members and the organizations of the administrative organs. It is necessary to establish a strict system of assessment and a system of rewards and penalties for the people who work for the state. It is necessary to clearly fix the terms of office of the leading people and make provisions for the retirement of old cadres. Through the implementation of administrative legislation, the situation of "eating from the same big pot," "holding an iron rice bowl" and "lifelong tenure" will be radically changed. In this way, people will not shift responsibility on others or be dilatory in doing things. The work style of the feudal government office and the malpractice of passing on documents will be checked. The possibility of having over-staffed organs will be reduced.

The central feature of the present structural reform is, in accordance with the principle of picking the highly trained cadres and the principle of making the ranks of the cadres become "more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent," to turn the leading bodies at all levels into a strong and powerful combat headquarters which is capable of creating a new situation. In handling this issue, which is closely related to the overall situation, we must be certain of victory and have determination. If we have doubts, we must continue to explore. But if we are certain that reform is a good thing, we must make up our minds and not hesitate to carry it out.

CSO: 4004/23

## SEVERAL POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION IN TECHNICAL REFORM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 39-40

[Article by Ouyang Weizhong [2962 7122 4850 1813], reprinted from Hunan XINXIANG PINGLUN [XINXIANG REVIEW], No 1, 1983]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee we have begun to tackle technical reform work in existing enterprises and the results of our investments are good and improving. However, in recent years some new situations have arisen in technical reform work in our province and they are worth considering.

1. A large proportion of locally built plants, basically involving extensions inside and outside the factory.
2. Repetitive emphasis, blind construction and unorganized mass action.
3. Ineffective supply of fuel and raw materials.
4. Much emphasis on capital construction projects and projects of a large scale, with the sole aim of enlarging production capacity but not increasing product quality, lowering production costs or improving results.

We can see from these problems that many comrades still lack sufficient appreciation of the major significance and role of technical reform and in some cases comrades have not shaken off the influences of old habits of relying on external enlargement of production forces. We feel that in order to fully get to grips with technical reform, it is necessary to clarify some points.

1. What are the aims of technical reform? In the long run technical reform should be seen to improve overall economic results and this means not only considering the economic results of one's own enterprise, undertaking or department, but, even more importantly, the overall economic results of the national economy. In other words, macroscopic economic results.
2. Technical reform should be centered around energy conservation.

3. Technical reform should be carried out with planning, emphases and in progressive steps. In addition to overall, composite planning, there must be many levels of planning in which emphasis is placed on towns, enterprises or undertakings.

4. When choosing and using advanced technology it is important to examine the concrete situation in every region, enterprise or undertaking concerned, concentrating on increasing self-support while also fully making use of and exploiting our own technical forces and the role of the masses. In addition we should, on the basis of society's needs, import some advanced technology and some key equipment that we are unable to manufacture ourselves so that we may improve and create on the basis of grasping and digesting this technology.

5. Technical reform must take place at the same time as technological standards of workers are improved and enterprise management standards raised.

CSO: 4004/23

THERE WAS A CHINESE VERSION OF 'PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY LITERATURE' AS EARLY AS 1926

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 p 40

[Letter in "Readers, Writers and Editors" column by Liu Qingfu [0491 1987 4395], professor of the Chinese Literature Department of Beijing Teachers University]

[Text] Editor's note: In the letter which Comrade Liu Qingfu sent he disagreed with the dating of a Chinese version of "Party Organization and Party Literature." The Translation and Editing Department of the CPC Central Committee has confirmed that his opinion is correct and thus we publish the letter to correct and complete the affair.

In RED FLAG magazine No 22, 1982 the new Chinese translation of "Party Organization and Party Literature" done by the Translation Office for the Works of Lenin and Stalin of the Translation and Editing Department of the CPC Central Committee was published along with an explanatory article. I feel that the changes in the new translation are very good and the reasons for the changes thoroughly convincing.

What I would like to point out is that the Translation Department's article said that the article by Lenin "has been translated many times in China since the 1930's." This is not completely accurate. As far as I know, the translations done in the 1930's are not the earliest translations in China. The earliest Chinese translation was published on 6 December 1926 in the Chinese CYL magazine ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN [CHINESE YOUTH] No 144 (Volume 6, No 19). The topic was "A Discussion of Party Publications and Literature" and it was a translation of work by Lenin.

I mention this not only to date more accurately the first Chinese translations but also because it can be of help in understanding the new changes in translations. The earliest translation translated the title as "A Discussion of Party Publications and Literature" and this very obviously is an inaccurate translation and was added on the basis of the original translator's understanding of Lenin's article. Today's translator considers that this article of Lenin's is not a specialized discussion of literature but rather, it is a discussion of questions concerning party publications and literature and the title that the translator has given it is entirely in keeping with the essence of the article after the Translation Department's changes.

OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS DRAWN UP SINCE THE THIRD  
PLENARY SESSION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 pp 41-47

[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Office of Theory and Education; passages  
within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] II. Establish the Historical Position of Comrade Mao Zedong and  
Uphold and Develop Mao Zedong Thought

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in rooting out the "leftist" mistakes that have persisted for many years, our party has realistically analyzed and appropriately criticized the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and has also resolutely vindicated the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and the status of Mao Zedong Thought as historical truth. Recently, our party has in practice promoted the development of Mao Zedong Thought. In studying this specific topic, we can read Comrade Deng Xiaoping's articles: "Free Ourselves From Old Ideas, Seek Truth From Facts, Get United and Look Forward," "Suggestions on Drafting 'Resolutions on Certain Historical Questions on Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC,'" and "Comrade Mao Zedong's Historical Position and Mao Zedong Thought" in "Resolutions on Certain Historical Questions on Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC"; Comrade Hu Yaobang's articles: "Introduction to the Forum on Ideological Guidelines for Theoretical Work" and "Speech at the Meeting for Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the CPC"; Comrade Ye Jianying's article: "Speech at the Meeting for Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the CPC"; and so on. The contents of this specific topic includes the following three main points:

1. We must correctly and comprehensively study and apply Mao Zedong Thought;
2. We must correctly appraise Comrade Mao Zedong;
3. We must promote the development of Mao Zedong Thought in our further practice.



/When we study the first main point, we must pay attention to a clear understanding of the following two questions: First, why we must propose a correct and comprehensive study and application of Mao Zedong Thought; and second, what is meant by a correct and comprehensive study and application of Mao Zedong Thought./

Through the Zunyi meeting and the Yanan rectification movement, our party established Comrade Mao Zedong's position as the leader of the whole party and proclaimed Mao Zedong Thought to be the guide for all the work of our party. Consequently we achieved brilliant successes in our cause of revolution and construction. However, in the late 1950's and early 1960's, our party's appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and interpretation of Mao Zedong Thought began to be divorced from reality. The personality cult of Comrade Mao Zedong and the tendency of regarding Mao Zedong Thought as some dogmas gradually developed. These mistakes developed to the point of extreme ridiculousness during the "Great Cultural Revolution" owing to the malicious sabotage by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their counterrevolutionary cliques. It seemed that Comrade Mao Zedong was a divine person above everything in the world and could only be worshipped. People treated Mao Zedong Thought as religious doctrines and believed in it as such. This gravely impaired our revolutionary leader's image and also distorted the real nature of Mao Zedong Thought. During the 2 years between the smashing of the counterrevolutionary clique headed by Jiang Qing and the convention of the third plenary session, because the principal responsible comrade in the CPC Central Committee raised the erroneous slogan of "two whatevers," people's minds were still fettered in many ways, so that no progress was made in many items of work. Therefore, the question of correctly appraising Comrade Mao Zedong and correctly viewing Mao Zedong Thought necessarily had to be promptly resolved by our party.

This question was raised for the first time by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his letter to the CPC Central Committee, written in April 1977. He said: "We and all future generations must correctly and comprehensively use Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding principles for the whole party, the whole army and the whole nation, and must thus successfully promote the development of the cause of socialism and the cause of the international communist movement." Later, in a speech delivered in July 1979, he explained why he had to raise this question. He said: "Lin Biao was the first one to disrupt our party's ideological line. He did not allow people to correctly and comprehensively study and apply Mao Zedong Thought in considering, raising and resolving questions. Instead, he popularized that book of quotations, and vulgarized and disintegrated Mao Zedong Thought. I do not agree with the 'two whatevers,' because this is not Marxism or Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, I proposed and also explained the meaning of the correct and comprehensive study and application of Mao Zedong Thought."

To correctly and comprehensively study and apply Mao Zedong Thought means that we must learn the stand, viewpoints and methods embodied in it, and not merely some quoted phrases. We must not change it into fossilized dogmas. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that to correctly and comprehensively understand Mao Zedong Thought, we must be good at studying, mastering and

applying it as an ideological system. We can thus use it to guide our work in various fields. He also said that we must not interpret Mao Zedong Thought by reference to isolated quotations, but must correctly understand it in the perspective of the entire ideological system. This is because Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions were written at specific times, in specific places and under specific conditions, to deal with specific problems. Different expositions associated with different times, places and conditions differ in depth of exposition, points stressed, or even the way of putting things. Some of his expositions were correct at the time they were made, but with changes in time, place and conditions, they could not be mechanically applied to other cases. Therefore, we should only understand the essential gist of Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions and must not dogmatically and mechanically apply them without considering changes in time, place and conditions. The "Resolutions on Certain Historical Questions on Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" incisively sums up the substance of Mao Zedong Thought in the following two ways: First, the document sums up the theoretical contribution of Mao Zedong Thought, that is, its enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism in the following six areas: 1) New democratic revolution; 2) socialist revolution and construction; 3) building of a revolutionary army and military strategy; 4) policies and tactics; 5) ideological, political and cultural work; and 6) building of the party. Second, the document sums up the living spirit of Mao Zedong Thought, that is, the stand, viewpoints and methods which run through the above-mentioned parts of Mao Zedong Thought. This living spirit comprises three basic elements, namely, seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and independence and having the initiative in one's own hands. This summary concisely outlines the basic content of Mao Zedong Thought and the living internal links between its various component parts, and can help us to correctly and comprehensively understand and master Mao Zedong Thought.

/When we study the second main point, we must understand the following two things in greater depth: First, the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong's contribution is of primary importance and his mistakes are of secondary importance; second, a correct knowledge of the nature and causes of his mistakes./

The 12th CPC Congress report says that one-sidedness in people's thinking is liable to occur during times of great historical changes. While our party is rooting out on an overall scale the "leftist" mistakes committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," some party members and some members of society cannot completely free themselves from the influence of past "leftist" mistakes. They are afraid to say Comrade Mao Zedong did commit mistakes. On the other hand, some other people try to completely negate Comrade Mao Zedong on the grounds that he committed grave mistakes in his later years. Some foreigners erroneously think that our rooting out of past mistakes amounts to the so-called "de-Maoization." Therefore, whether we can fairly, comprehensively and realistically appraise Comrade Mao Zedong and whether we can establish his historical position constitute the key factor affecting our ability to correctly uphold Mao Zedong Thought.

Right before the convening of the third plenary session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly talked about Comrade Mao Zedong's great historical contribution when proposing a correct and comprehensive mastering of Mao Zedong Thought. For example, on 13 December 1978, at the concluding meeting of the CPC Central Committee work conference, he clearly stated in his speech: "The great feats performed by Comrade Mao Zedong in the prolonged revolutionary struggle will remain indelible forever." On 29 September 1979, at the meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, Comrade Ye Jianying also fully affirmed Comrade Mao Zedong's great historical feats. He said Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, revolutionary and strategist, and also the most outstanding champion among the great CPC and the great Chinese people; the Chinese people will forever remember his immortal contribution. What these comrades said is supported by the historical evidence of several decades of socialist revolution and construction and cannot be denied by anyone.

To deny Comrade Mao Zedong's great contribution and to deny the grave mistakes committed in his later years are both wrong. However, an appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and faults should be realistic and appropriate. We must not, as some people do, let our sight of the Taishan Mountain be blocked by a leaf; we must not completely negate his historical feats just because he committed mistakes. Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee have repeatedly stressed this point. Later, the "resolutions" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee also clearly stated: "Although he committed grave mistakes during the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' his contribution to China's revolution greatly surpasses his faults, judging from what he did in his life. His contribution is of primary importance and his mistakes are of secondary importance." This fair and scientific appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong in the "resolutions" has been enthusiastically endorsed by all comrades in our party and the people of various nationalities in our country. This appraisal both sums up experience and plays the important role of helping us to unify our thinking, get united and look forward.

We must also correctly understand the nature and causes of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. We must distinguish the nature of his mistakes from the nature of the problem of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We know that Comrade Mao Zedong was the principal figure responsible for the grave "leftist" mistake of the prolonged "Great Cultural Revolution" which affected the overall situation. However, after all, he committed these mistakes as a great proletarian revolutionary. As to the numerous criminal activities of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their counterrevolutionary clique, who took advantage of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes to carry out these activities, the question is one of a different nature. We must perform a comprehensive analysis of the causes of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years. We should note that in building socialism in a country like ours, with a large population and a backward economy and culture, we do not have readily available experience for our reference. In our experimentation to gain experience, the commission of mistakes is unavoidable. Of course, it is true that in his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong gradually became conceited, was divorced from reality and from the masses, and was to

an increasingly serious extent given to subjectivism and personal dictatorship, so that the principle of collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism, which govern our party and our state, continued to lose effectiveness and were even completely violated. This was an important cause of his mistakes. However, as explained in the "resolutions": "This phenomenon arose gradually and the CPC Central Committee should also be to a certain extent responsible for it. According to the Marxist viewpoint, this complicated phenomenon was the outcome of certain historical conditions. If it is only attributed to a particular person or some persons, the whole party cannot learn a profound lesson and find out realistic and effective steps of reform."

Lenin said: "To openly admit its own mistakes, to analyze the circumstances that give rise to mistakes, and to carefully discuss methods of correcting mistakes--these are signs of a serious and conscientious party." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 39) The analysis and discussion of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and faults in the "resolutions" show that our party is a serious Marxist party which seeks truth from facts and is good at summing up and learning lessons from historical experience.

/When we study the third main point, we can pay special attention to understanding: First, what is the scientific meaning of Mao Zedong Thought; second, the differentiation between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years; third, the necessity of upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought and the dialectical relations involved; fourth, promotion of the advance of Mao Zedong Thought in our practice./

While once again presenting Mao Zedong Thought in its true colors, our party has reiterated the necessity of promoting the advance of Mao Zedong Thought under current historical conditions. To achieve this, we must first correctly understand the meaning of Mao Zedong Thought. The "resolutions" drawn up at the Sixth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee clearly states: "According to basic Marxist-Leninist principles, the Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their principal representative, have made a theoretical generalization of a series of original and unique experiences gained in China's prolonged revolutionary practice, and have arrived at a scientific guiding ideology appropriate to China's conditions. This is Mao Zedong Thought, the fruits of integration of universal Marxist-Leninist principles with China's specific revolutionary practice." "Mao Zedong Thought represents the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China, the correct theoretical principles for and correct generalization of the experience of China's revolution, as verified in practice, as well as the crystallized collective wisdom of the CPC. Many outstanding leaders of our party have significantly contributed to its formation and development. It is epitomized in Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works." We can see two special points in these passages. First, Mao Zedong Thought represents both the application and a development of Marxism-Leninism in China. Second, in discussing the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, the "resolutions" not only explain Comrade Mao Zedong's individual role, but also emphasize the fact that they

represent the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC. Thus, the content of Mao Zedong Thought is further clarified and the meaning of Mao Zedong Thought is made perfect, so that all comrades in our party and the whole nation can have a unified understanding of Mao Zedong Thought.

Moreover, our party also clearly distinguishes Mao Zedong Thought from Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years. Why does it do so? It is because if we uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought, we will encounter a question, that is, whether his mistakes are included in Mao Zedong Thought. If this question is not resolved, the whole party and the whole nation cannot arrive at a unified understanding. Some people are skeptical about or even object to upholding Mao Zedong Thought, saying that they endorse only "the correct part of Mao Zedong Thought," but not "the erroneous part of Mao Zedong Thought." This argument is based on Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. To clarify this confused idea, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "What we must uphold and adopt as the guide for our action is the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, or, the scientific system comprising these basic principles. As to the forming of individual judgments, Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong, with no exception, were bound to make mistakes of one kind or another. However, these mistakes do not belong to the scientific system comprising the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought." The "resolutions" drawn up at the Sixth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee also states that it is quite necessary to distinguish Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific theoretical system formed in the course of prolonged trials of history, from Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years. Because the CPC Central Committee has thus made a rigorous distinction and corrected people's erroneous understanding on this question, a scientific basis for upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought has been formed.

To promote the advance of Mao Zedong Thought, we must clarify the relationship between upholding and developing. We must both uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. Upholding and developing are complementary; neither of these two things can exist without the other. Mao Zedong Thought is a form of Marxism peculiar to China. Its basic principles reflect the general laws governing revolution and construction in China. It is a set of scientific truths verified through practice. Not only did it educate an entire generation of people in the past, but in the future, it will continue to be the guide for our work and the most valuable spiritual wealth of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in our country. We should highly value it, uphold it and develop it under new historical conditions. To uphold Mao Zedong Thought means to uphold the basic principles proved to be correct in practice, and not to obstinately stick to a few words or sentences of Comrade Mao Zedong, treating them as dogmas, as exemplified by the "two whatevers." To develop Mao Zedong Thought means to enrich and supplement it on the basis of upholding and with the development of practice, and not to unrealistically exaggerate or artificially boost it.

To uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought, the key measure is to closely integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with

the magnificent practice of the four modernizations, and to test and develop truths through practice. Thus, the "resolutions" state: "We must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought and conscientiously study and apply its stand, viewpoints and methods, so that we can study new circumstances arising in our practice and solve new problems"; and, "we must use new principles and new conclusions which are compatible with reality to enrich and develop our party's theoretical system, to ensure that our cause continues to advance along the scientific path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought."

Our party stresses promoting the advance of Mao Zedong Thought through practice because practice is the only source and motive force of development of theory. If theory is divorced from practice, it will lose vitality as water without a source or a trunk without roots. Only by proceeding from reality and conducting in-depth investigation and study can we formulate realistic guiding principles and policies, derive correct new conclusions and principles, and thus add new substance and brilliance to Mao Zedong Thought. We have been precisely doing this since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about the significance of discussing the thesis of practice being the criterion for testing truth, he said: "Scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought develop amid actual struggles. Of course, we will not retrogress from scientific socialism to utopian socialism, or let Marxism stay at the level of the specific arguments prevailing several decades or more than a century ago. Therefore we have repeatedly said that to free ourselves from old ideas, we must use the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to study current conditions and solve new problems." He continued: "What are the most important current conditions and the most important current problem in our country today? The answer is of course the four modernizations, or, as I mentioned above, the achievement of Chinese-style modernization. We have said that to study in depth the new circumstances and new problems encountered in China's four modernizations, and to provide answers of great value to guiding work, will amount to a great contribution to Marxism by our theoretical workers and a real extolling of Mao Zedong Thought."

Since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, our party has not only once again presented Mao Zedong Thought in its true colors and upheld the basic principles of Mao Zedong Thought in formulating a series of guiding principles and policies, but has also done things which were proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong but were not done, corrected his mistakes in opposing certain things, and more satisfactorily done things which he did not satisfactorily accomplish. Although we cannot simplistically say that each of the important documents issued since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee has enriched and developed Mao Zedong Thought, however, judging from the overall content of these documents, we can see that our party has effectively promoted the advance of Mao Zedong Thought. For example, it has to various extents tackled certain questions which were not tackled or satisfactorily resolved before, such as: The ideology of breaking through set models and taking a path of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics (including

integration of agricultural collective ownership with responsibility systems in production, opening our country to foreign trade and enlivening our domestic economy, reform of our economic systems, and so on); the ideology of the correct evaluation and handling of class struggle in socialist society; the ideology of building socialist spiritual civilization; the ideology of the strategic position of science and education in socialist construction and the importance of the intellectuals' role; the ideology of extending socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system, and safeguarding democracy by means of laws and a democratic system; the ideology of reforming our party and state leadership system as well as promoting cooperation between old cadres and new ones and replacing the former with the latter; the ideology of curbing personality cult and strengthening democratic centralism; the principle that our party adheres to independence and the right to act on our own, while respecting other revolutionary parties' independence and their right to act on their own; and so on. In dealing with these questions, our party has vigorously applied Marxism to resolve them, has enriched and developed Mao Zedong Thought, and is ready to face further tests of practice and sum up practical experience, so that Mao Zedong Thought will be further enriched and developed. The important documents issued since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee record our party's achievement in upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought in its recent practice, and serve as brilliant examples of promoting the advance of Mao Zedong Thought. We should conscientiously study them and understand them.

### III. Uphold the Four Basic Principles and Correctly Unfold Ideological Struggle on Two Fronts

To uphold the four basic principles and to opportunely and correctly launch ideological struggle to oppose "leftist" and rightist tendencies help bring about desired great historical changes, as basic experience tells us, and constitute an important guarantee of a smooth progress of socialist modernization construction. To study this special topic, we can pay special attention to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's articles: "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," "The Current Situation and Our Current Tasks" and "A Talk on Questions Concerning the Ideological Front"; Comrade Hu Yaobang's article: "Speech at the Forum on the Ideological Front"; and Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article: "Certain Current Questions of the Ideological Front"; and so on.

When we study this special topic, we may try to master the following three main points:

First, to uphold the four basic principles is a requirement for implementing the guiding principles laid down at the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee;

Second, we must opportunely and correctly oppose erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies;

Third, to launch ideological struggle on two fronts, we must have correct guiding principles and methods.



/When we study the first main point, we must pay attention to an understanding of the following: First, why our party reaffirms upholding the four basic principles; second, upholding party leadership being the core of upholding the four basic principles; and third, upholding the four basic principles being consistent with freeing ourselves from old ideas./

Early in 1979, at the conference on ideological guidelines for theoretical work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech entitled "Uphold the Four Basic Principles." He said that to achieve the four modernizations in China, we must uphold four basic ideological and political principles, namely: to adhere to the road of socialism, to uphold dictatorship of the proletariat, to uphold leadership by the Communist Party, and to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This important speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping has played a very important role in our correct implementation of the guiding principles laid down at the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, in our achievement of stability and unity, and in the shift of the focal point of our work.

The question of upholding the four basic principles is not a new one. Its importance has long been acknowledged by the whole party and the whole nation, thanks to the practice of prolonged revolutionary struggle and socialist construction. From their own personal experience, people have come to the understanding that to uphold the four basic principles is tantamount to upholding the basic interests of the people of various nationalities in our country. All words or deeds going against the four basic principles will inevitably undermine the people's basic interests. If so, why did our party reaffirm the necessity of upholding the four basic principles after the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee? This is a measure distinctly directed against certain problems. First, at that time, there existed two trends of thought in society which violated the four basic principles and which interfered with and disrupted the implementation of the guiding principles laid down at the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee. One trend of thought was the erroneous "leftist" trend of thought cherished by some comrades in our party who were gravely poisoned by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." A very small number of people even spread rumors to attack the series of guiding principles and policies which were implemented by the CPC Central Committee after the smashing of the "gang of four," in particular, since the third plenary session. The other trend of thought was reflected in the spreading of certain opinions in society by a very small minority of people who were skeptical about or even objected to the four basic principles. Some individual comrades in our party not only failed to acknowledge the danger of this rightist trend of thought, but even showed a certain degree of support. Both trends of thought violate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and hamper the progress of our cause of socialist modernization construction. Therefore, while we continue to criticize the extreme leftist trend of thought propagated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we must also criticize the rightist trend of thought which expresses skepticism about or even objection to the four basic principles. Second, at that time, a very small number of counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, whose greatest desire was to see disorder in our country, gravely disrupted the order of work and



production and social order. They also put forth slogans such as "oppose hunger" and "we want human rights" to instigate some people to make trouble. They openly opposed the people's democratic dictatorship and leadership by the Communist Party. They maligned Comrade Mao Zedong. Some of them even colluded with hostile forces at home and abroad. Therefore, we had to use the power of the people's government to struggle against the counterrevolutionaries and bad elements and to seriously deal with them. Moreover, we had to criticize the erroneous views of some people who propagated bourgeois democracy and extreme individualism, which are against the four basic principles. Only by criticizing these erroneous views could we clarify the ideological confusion among a minority of the masses, in particular a minority of the young people. Third, the problem of corrupt social values caused by the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was very serious. After the implementation of the policy of opening our country to foreign trade, the corrosive influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and lifestyle intensified. Unhealthy tendencies in our party also weakened our party's leadership role and fighting capacity. Under the above-mentioned conditions, to reaffirm the upholding of the four basic principles with a clear-cut stand, to criticize the "leftist" and the rightist social trends of thought, to curb the sabotage by a very small number of counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, and to change the general mood of society and our party, constitute an important guarantee of the thorough implementation of various guiding principles and policies laid down at the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee.

Party leadership is the most important of the four basic principles. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Upholding party leadership is the core of the four upholdings." In the past, our party had committed "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology and our socialist cause encountered setbacks. In particular, the decade of chaos gravely undermined our party's prestige. Consequently, some members of society became skeptical of party leadership and lacked confidence in our party's ability to exercise leadership over our modernization construction. Some people even demanded abolition of party leadership. In view of this condition, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly stressed the paramount importance of party leadership. He said: "Our party is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is the core of leadership over our socialist cause and proletarian dictatorship. It is an advanced proletarian contingent with socialist and communist consciousness and with revolutionary discipline. Our party's relationship with the broad masses of the people and our leadership over China's cause of socialism have been formed in our 60-year history of struggle. Our party and the people cannot be divorced from each other. This relationship cannot be altered by any forces." Although our party did commit mistakes in the past, this definitely cannot become a reason for weakening or abolishing party leadership. Our party has gone through many mistakes, but in each case we corrected our mistakes by relying on the party and not by departing from it. Facts have proved that, educated and tempered by mistakes and setbacks, our party has become stronger and more mature. After the smashing of the counterrevolutionary clique headed by Jiang Qing, our party faced a situation of numerous problems, with many neglected tasks waiting to be undertaken. However, within a short span of several years, our party

has reestablished the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, put an end to prolonged social disorder, and brought about a political situation of stability, unity and vitality. It is currently eliminating the "leftist" mistakes in economic work and implementing the correct guiding principle of readjustment, reform, rectification and improvement. Our country's economy has thus passed through the period of greatest difficulty and embarked on a healthy path of steady development. A new atmosphere has appeared in the arena of education, science and cultural work. Military work has also been improved. These facts demonstrate that our party is one which has stood many tests over many years and is capable of leading the people to overcome all kinds of difficulties to accomplish socialist modernization construction. Any tendencies to attempt to weaken, break away from, abolish or oppose party leadership are erroneous and against the people's common aspiration.

Some people set the upholding of the four basic principles against emancipation of the mind. For example, they think that to uphold the four basic principles hinders emancipation of the mind, that the emergence of the tendency to strive for bourgeois freedom is attributable to emancipation of the mind, that to reaffirm upholding the four basic principles can be viewed as "correcting" the "deviation" of the third plenary session, and so on. These views are basically not compatible with facts. The guiding principle laid down at the third plenary session, namely to emancipate the mind, to use our brains, to seek truth from facts and to get united and look forward has played a decisive role in bringing order out of chaos. What is called emancipation of the mind principally and in the first place means that our cadres must be freed from the fetters of "leftist" mistakes and the "two whatevers" so that they can return to the scientific path of seeking truth from facts and can thus understand current conditions and solve current problems. Emancipation of the mind in this way does not in the slightest degree imply the possibility of departing from the four basic principles. Actually, since the putting forth of emancipation of the mind, all the guiding principles and policies implemented by the CPC Central Committee are marked by adherence to the four basic principles. This is mainly reflected in the following facts: Criticism of the bogus socialism of the "gang of four," adherence to socialist public ownership and the principle of distribution according to work done, adherence to the guiding principle of relying mainly on ourselves with efforts to seek foreign aid as a subsidiary measure, and adherence to working according to objective economic laws--the above facts amounting to adherence to scientific socialism; smashing of the feudal fascism of the "gang of four," resolving a series of questions left over by history, consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship and reviving and developing democratic centralism; restoring the three major work styles of our party, perfecting inner-party democratic centralism, strengthening unity within and outside our party, and strengthening party leadership; upholding a correct and comprehensive mastering of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, presenting Mao Zedong Thought in its true colors again, and safeguarding Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position. These facts tell us that it is groundless to confuse emancipation of the mind with erroneous rightist tendencies, or to set the upholding of the four basic principles against the guiding principles laid down at the third plenary session. The aim of upholding the four basic principles is

precisely to bring about a better implementation of the guiding principles of the third plenary session. These two things are consistent.

/When we study the second main point, we must pay attention to a clear understanding of the following: First, since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, our party has always adhered to the launching of ideological struggle on two fronts; and second, overall, our focal point has been the rooting out of "leftist" mistakes, but when attention is paid to one erroneous tendency, another erroneous tendency is not overlooked./

Since the third plenary session, our party has stressed correcting past "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology and rooting out "leftist" errors. The formulation of the "Resolutions on Certain Historical Questions on Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" at the Sixth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee indicates that our party has accomplished the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the arena of guiding ideology. However, judging from the performance of various specific categories of work in various localities, many tasks in correcting "leftist" mistakes have not been accomplished. Actually, because of the profound influence of old ideas and habits, some comrades have not yet freed themselves from old "leftist" mistakes and they either consciously or unconsciously want to revert to the beaten track of "having class struggle as the key link." Therefore, we must continue to criticize, correct and guard against "leftist" mistakes. This is still an important task we are undertaking in which we must not slacken our efforts. At the same time, since the third plenary session, our party has also been resolutely struggling against erroneous rightist mistakes. Some comrades cannot correctly sum up historical experience. They misunderstand what is emancipation of the mind. Deviating from the path of Marxism, they are skeptical about or even negate party leadership and the socialist road. Some responsible comrades in our party turn a blind eye to this rightist ideological trend of striving for bourgeois freedom. Their attitude is one of slackness and weakness. A very small minority of people even try various means to cover up this mistake. Therefore, in a certain period of time, it is quite necessary to stress the criticism and correction of erroneous rightist tendencies. Considering the economic arena, since the third plenary session, our party has stressed correcting past "leftist" guiding ideology and has resolutely implemented the policy of opening our country to foreign trade and enlivening our domestic economy. However, when serious criminal activities occur, our party does not hesitate to lead the people to wage struggles to curb these activities, and it promptly corrects erroneous ideas about this question. These facts demonstrate that since the third plenary session, our party has taken a firm stand on major questions of principles. In dealing with the overall situation and guiding ideology, it has stressed rooting out "leftist" mistakes. In addition, in the light of actual conditions associated with different periods and different realms, it has opposed both "leftist" and rightist mistakes as warranted by the type of mistake in each case. It has consistently adhered to overall consideration and avoided one-sidedness. It is not compatible with facts to set the correction of "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology against the opposition of the rightist ideological trend of striving for bourgeois freedom, to set the

implementation of the policy of opening our country to foreign trade and enlivening our domestic economy against curbing serious criminal activities in the economic realm, or to use the expression "wavering of guiding principles" to describe "leftist" or rightist tendencies in practical work and our party's struggle against these tendencies, and so on.

Historical experience has proved that erroneous "leftist" and rightist trends are interrelated. The existence of a "leftist" trend is a condition for the emergence of a rightist trend, and vice versa. When we oppose "leftist" mistakes, we must guard against rightist mistakes, and vice versa. Very often, the two categories of mistakes take advantage of each other, the existence of one category being a pretext for the commission of the other. Thus, in Comrade Hu Qiaomu's article: "Certain Current Questions of the Ideological Front," he said: "The two kinds of struggle on these two fronts are complementary. If we do not oppose the ideological trend of striving for bourgeois freedom, we are in effect providing ammunition to those who obstinately stick to 'leftist' guiding ideology." "On the other hand, if we do not continue to correct 'leftist' guiding ideology, there will be a pretext for reviving the ideological trend of striving for bourgeois freedom." "Leftist" mistakes and rightist mistakes are two extremes. Both categories violate the Marxist criteria of overall consideration and necessity to be scientific. Therefore, it is impossible to use "leftist" ideology to correctly criticize or refute rightist mistakes, or, conversely, to use rightist viewpoints to oppose or eliminate "leftist" mistakes. Only by adhering to the Marxist spirit of being scientific considering all viewpoints, and by opportunely launching ideological struggle on two fronts in the light of various conditions, can we genuinely uphold the four basic principles and ensure the thorough implementation of our party's guiding principles and policies.

/When we study the third main point, we must pay attention to understanding: First, a correct summing up and cherishing of the lessons of historical experience; and second, some basic principles concerning launching ideological struggle on two fronts./

Concerning the question of ideological struggle, we should very conscientiously sum up and remember the lessons of historical experience, so that we may take these lessons for reference in our future work. In his "Speech at the Forum on the Ideological Front," Comrade Hu Yaobang said that we have two categories of historical experience in ideological criticism and struggle. One category is correct criticism and struggle. Specifically, this is the establishing and upholding of the three major fine work styles by our party during the period from the time of the Zunyi meeting to the Yanan rectification movement and then to the Seventh CPC Congress. These three styles are: integration of theory with practice, establishing close links with the masses, and criticism and self-criticism. By upholding the three major work styles, our party has been able to continuously grow and flourish. Since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, our party has restored and developed this fine tradition, has launched criticism, self-criticism and the necessary struggles, and has thus achieved success in bringing order out of chaos. The other category of

historical experience is erroneous criticism and struggle. The best example is the cruel struggles and relentless attacks during the "Great Cultural Revolution," incorporating frantic criticism, struggles and attacks and also great exaggeration in criticism, resulting in a situation more dreadful than in the period of the Wang Ming line. These wrongdoings must not be repeated. Some comrades cannot correctly sum up lessons from experience. On hearing that it is necessary to launch ideological struggle, with criticism and self-criticism, they feel disgusted and begin to boycott or even oppose it. Some comrades worry about the possibility that to launch criticism, self-criticism and ideological struggle will hamper socialist democracy and adversely affect the political situation of stability, unity and vigor prevailing since the third plenary session. These comrades remember only historical experience of mistakes and forget that we also have historical experience of correct practice. Since the third plenary session, facts have proved that to correctly launch criticism, self-criticism and the necessary ideological struggle will not hamper the development of socialist democracy or adversely affect the new political situation prevailing since the third plenary session, but conversely, this amounts to a condition and reflection of development toward a high degree of democracy as well as an important guarantee of the consolidation and development of the current political situation.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, our party has successfully launched ideological struggle on two fronts against "leftist" and rightist mistakes, basing itself on a correct summing up of historical experience. The success of this struggle cannot be divorced from the upholding of the following several basic principles:

First, in launching ideological struggle, we must proceed from real conditions, be realistic and suit the remedy to the case. That is, whatever mistakes exist, whether "leftist" or rightist, we must struggle against them. We must criticize whatever category of erroneous tendency that can be discovered. Thus, a CPC Central Committee document issued in June 1980 stresses: "In the future, if any major ideological tendency or social trend of thought emerges in any specific period, the whole party must carry out in-depth investigation and study, calmly and carefully analyze it, detect its causes and development, and make a judgment that is compatible with objective reality. If the problem is limited to a certain scope or realm, we should solve it within the limits of this scope or realm. We must not arbitrarily magnify its scope or even make a sweeping categorization of things and launch a political movement on an overall scale."

Second, we must correctly differentiate and handle two essentially different categories of contradictions and implement the guiding principle of enlightenment with regard to ideological problems. In his speech entitled "Uphold the Four Basic Principles," Comrade Deng Xiaoping rigorously differentiates the erroneous ideological trends among the cadres and the masses from the hostile elements' sabotage. He says that we must seriously deal with counterrevolutionaries and bad elements according to the law, and must also criticize the erroneous ideological trends among cadres and the masses to enable those who commit mistakes to become conscious of their

errors. Subsequent CPC Central Committee documents and speeches of leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee have on many occasions pointed out the necessity of implementing the guiding principle of enlightenment with regard to the ideological problems of the cadres and the masses. We must adhere to the method of presenting facts, explaining truths, making reasoned and sensible arguments, and convincing people by reasoning. We must not be simplistic, rude, brutal or repressive. If a certain ideological trend has grown into an organized sabotaging force which is persistently hostile to socialism and party leadership, we must suppress it according to the law and no one is allowed to provide any form of support. If the nature of a contradiction is not yet clearly understood, we must first treat it and tackle it as a contradiction among the people, and must definitely not casually treat people who make mistakes of one kind or another as hostile elements, regarding the contradiction as one between ourselves and the enemy. Thus, we will not let social ideological trends, which are harmful to socialism, run wild, or commit the mistake of aggravating problems. This is the meaning of deciding on different methods of handling different contradictions in light of differences in their nature.

Third, we must vigorously criticize and struggle against erroneous ideological trends, but our judgment of the nature of any mistakes must be accurate and scientific. We must not rashly draw political conclusions. In view of our historical experience, to be realistic and to correctly handle the two categories of contradictions, our party must on the one hand consistently uphold its principles and resolutely criticize and struggle against erroneous ideological trends in our party and in society, but must on the other hand pay great attention to whether its criticism is scientific and must not wrongly put labels on or take measures against anyone. We should as far as possible avoid incorrect ways of putting things such as "mistake in the line" or "struggle between two lines." There is also a correct definition of the move toward bourgeois freedom, which is distinguished from common ideological problems. Moreover, the complexity of the relationship between motive and effect is stressed, so that a simplistic and mechanical attitude to this question can be avoided. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping discussed criticism of the move toward bourgeois freedom, he said: "We must pay attention to individual differences between those who commit mistakes, and must appropriately handle each individual case according to an appropriate knowledge of the nature and extent of each person's mistakes. We must pay attention to the method of criticism and appropriateness of judgment. We must not organize massive attacks on people or launch movements."

The putting forth and implementation of these basic principles ensures our party's ability to opportunely and correctly launch ideological struggle on two fronts. The four basic principles can be upheld, and unity in our party and among the people can be strengthened. Our work can thus be more satisfactorily accomplished.

IS PUBLICIZING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY CONTRADICTIONARY TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL EXISTENCE DETERMINING SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 p 48

[Article by Chao Yong [2513 8673]]

[Text] Historical materialism states that social existence determines social consciousness. If this is the case, then can the propagation of communist ideology during the period before the realization of the communist system be seen as in keeping with the belief that social consciousness determines social ideology?

In actual fact these two concepts are in harmony since communist ideology is also a product of social existence. Obviously, communist ideology did not fall from the sky nor is it something inherent in the minds of men. Rather, it is a reflection of objective reality in man's mind. In a capitalist society there is a formal contradiction between the existence of socialized large-scale production and the capitalist ownership of the means of production. A conflict such as this between the productive forces and the production relations must objectively exist. Communist ideology is the reflection of this objective existence in man's mind and it is primarily reflected in the minds of the working class who suffer most directly under capitalism. Initially, this kind of reflection is merely a kind of spontaneous communist consciousness, manifested as the beautiful expectation of the future ideal society. Later on, after scientific work with Marxism-Leninism it develops into a scientific system of communist ideology to guide the working class movement. Since human beings are able to foresee the future developmental trends and situations of things on the basis of their understanding of the developmental laws of things, thus human beings are fully able to foresee the inevitable destruction of the capitalist society, based on the objective laws produced and developed from within the capitalist society, as well as the inevitable emergence and rise of the communist society. This kind of thinking is not subjective supposition but is a reflection of the objectively existing truth.

China entered the initial stage of the communist society a long time ago, namely socialist society. Socialism and communism are two stages of one form of society and between them there exist both differences and similarities. The realization of communism requires highly developed productive



forces and a high level of communist consciousness in the entire adult population of the society. This cannot be attained in a short period of time, but requires several generations of hard work. However, the embryo or bud of a highly developed communist society already exists within the initial stage. After the October Revolution, Lenin listed in detail the buds of communism that already existed in the Soviet socialist society. The situation in China is the same, if not more so. Let us look for example at the present system of public ownership of the means of production. Although the system of ownership in a communist society is different, in terms of its essential nature, the system of public ownership already has the elementary form of the system of ownership in the communist society. As far as interhuman relations and spiritual civilization are concerned, China has already produced such communist fighters as Zhang Side, Liu Hulan, Luo Shengjiao and Lei Feng while today many more are appearing such as Zhao Chune, Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu and Zhang Hua, all of whom are developed people with a communist spirit and ethical sentiments. Regardless of the work they do, they are not doing it for the money but in order to contribute personally to the revolutionary cause and for the great ideal of realizing communism. Thus they give their all, including that which is most precious to them--their lives. Within them we see total embodiment of the new form of human relations characterized by unity, mutual help and self-sacrifice for others. The 12th party congress report stated that "Communist ideology and communist practice appeared in our everyday life a long time ago." On the basis of the above-outlined objective existence how can one possibly say that the propagation of communist ideology is contradictory to the basic principle that social existence determines social consciousness?

The reflection in man's mind of objective existence is not by any means as simple and mechanical as the reflection one witnesses in a mirror. It is more similar to the mathematician who produces new theorems on the basis of the mathematical axioms of which he is already aware. Thus the ideological consciousness of a human being can, by means of the existing situation of past and present matter, recognize its developmental laws and thus foresee its future developmental changes, trends and situations. It can predict the inevitable development into commonly existing things of individual, newly formed things. Within capitalist society it can recognize the inevitable realization of communism. And it is exactly this which embodies the dynamic role of ideological consciousness. And it is that to which we refer when we talk of "standing high and seeing far." Some comrades fail to see and appreciate this dynamic role of ideological consciousness, wrongly thinking that whatever objectively exists will simply be reflected in man's mind as in a mirror, and it is this that is the cause for such a one-sided and mechanical understanding of the principle of social existence determining social consciousness. The correct viewpoint should be both materialist and dialectic. We must gather experience about and develop communist ideology on the basis of the communist practice that already exists in China's day-to-day reality and furthermore we should guide our behavior on the basis of this communist ideology. A scientific system of communist ideology must rely on the proletarian political party to consciously imbue the masses before the system may expand and be fully



propagated. Our party's constant efforts to propagate communist ideology have always been with the aim of overcoming spontaneity, increasing self-awareness and ensuring that the proletariat unites with coordination and one heart with the masses to steadfastly and courageously struggle for the realization of the glorious aims of communism. Thus this kind of propagation is entirely in keeping with the basic principle of social existence determining social consciousness.

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## MAKE PROMPT DECISIONS WHENEVER NECESSARY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 83 inside back cover

[Article by Wang Zhengwen [3769 2973 2429]]

[Text] "Make prompt decisions whenever necessary, or face the consequences." This is a saying that originates from ancient China. It frequently recurs in the recently unearthed Ma Wang silk books. It is also used in the "Shi Ji" [Records of History]. In modern times too it is often heard on people's lips. The long history of this phrase and its relevance even today is due to the fact that it illustrates an important principle from a negative viewpoint, namely that one cannot be irresolute and hesitant when doing things, but one should be prompt and decisive in decisionmaking.

Whenever one does anything, it is always a question of circumstances. It is always important to grab every opportunity and make a prompt decision and in this way, whatever it is that one is doing will smoothly take its course. If one is overcautious and indecisive and allows good opportunities to pass then one will never be able to complete what one is doing or it will not be carried out very smoothly; one might even find oneself facing disastrous aftereffects as a result of such indecision. In the Beijing opera "Kong Cheng Ji," Sima Ji, after his reconnaissance mission, establishes that "the western city is still an empty city." As the city was approached, Zhu Geliang was sighted, not in the least bit alarmed, and thus the former immediately grew alarmed and nervous. The result was that when Zhao Yun arrived, he retreated in haste. This story is only fiction, but nevertheless, there is some benefit to be gained from studying it. And, in fact, it illustrates in a very dramatic way the wisdom of "making prompt decisions whenever necessary, or face the consequences."

We should also remember to make prompt decisions when constructing socialism otherwise things might go wrong; we will get only half the results with twice the effort or even work to no avail whatsoever, then have to "face the consequences." We can only win time by making prompt decisions whenever necessary and only in this way can we achieve the most in a limited period of time. In the few short years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee there have been great changes in the political and economic situation in China; is this not the result of the CPC Central

Committee working on the basis of China's present situation and drawing up timely and decisive policies of great importance?

The key to the phrase "making prompt decisions whenever necessary" lies in the word "whenever." For it is only through timing that things may be decided promptly and accurately. It is incorrect to consider "making prompt decisions whenever necessary" as blindly doing things fast, just as one wants. If you cannot see something accurately, then you cannot make a swift decision. In 1958 during the period of the "Great Leap Forward" many things could be classified as "great determination with little clarity of the situation and a multitude of plans of action." The "determination" and "plans of action" were in fact very presumptuous and as a result everyone suffered a great deal. Simply by getting to grips with the word "whenever" will not provide a magic cure-all--there is a need for overall investigation and research. Comrade Chen Yun has already spoken of the importance of investigation and research in judging a problem, "more than 90 percent of one's time should be spent on investigation and research while discussion and decisionmaking can be done within the last 10 percent of one's time."

Of course, when we talk of complete digestion of a situation and complete, accurate perception of a situation, we are talking in very overall terms. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "In general, whether one is changing the course of nature or society, those of one's original ideas, principles, plans and so on which emerge in realization without any change whatsoever are very few. Because there are often things which partially change one's ideas, principles, plans and so on in the unfinished situations prior to actual practice, there are also some things which totally change one's ideas and so on." This means that whatever we are doing, we must make efforts toward accuracy before actually doing it, although there is always some risk of something going wrong. As long as one carries out thorough investigation and research before doing something and as long as one takes care to expand one's original understanding during the process of practice, readjusting and perfecting one's original plans as soon as possible, on the basis of the objective situation, then one will be able to achieve great things in one's work. Even though the limitations of understanding and various other complex factors can create mistakes, this should not be confused with rashness and neglect of duty. If one insists on waiting until one has absolute and perfect understanding of a situation before making a decision, then nothing will get done. For, that period of time never comes that metaphysical theories of knowledge look forward to.

Those who do things in fear of the responsibility they hold cannot "make prompt decisions whenever necessary." Whenever they are faced with a job they continually put it off and delay so that many important tasks which needed to be changed and undertaken have lain waiting in their hands. How mediocre and paltry these people appear in comparison to those vanguard fighters for the four modernizations. As far as those people who lack the fervor to undertake anything are concerned, it seems that the first thing they should do is to walk out of their office, open their eyes wide and look around at the masses surrounding them and what they are thinking,

doing and eagerly undertaking, so that these individuals can change their ways and adapt themselves to the rhythm of modern life before they can even consider decisiveness in their work.

Making prompt decisions whenever necessary also demands that we organize well the system of democratic centralism. As far as those things which are still under consideration are concerned, everyone should involve themselves in investigation and research, expressing their own views and opinions, for we must encourage everyone to voice their ideas and differing opinions. But, as soon as we have put together the correct opinions and views of everyone and formed a decision, we must implement it, for we cannot all act as a "permanent member of a council" with everyone having the power of veto. For if that were the case then all jobs to be tackled would be constantly discussed and never decided, or constantly decided and never implemented.

The targets to which we should struggle in the next 20 years have been very clearly outlined by the CPC Central Committee. Twenty years is not a short period of time, but on the other hand it is not a very long period of time and if we don't adopt the revolutionary spirit of seizing every minute, the years will slip by in the twinkling of an eye. In order to open up a new vista in socialist modernized construction, and in order to add luster to the party's causes in this new year we must, while carrying out our ardent investigative and research work, advocate the working attitude of making prompt decisions whenever necessary.

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END